

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS VOLUME XXXV

Part II



NEW DELHI
FEBRUARY 1960

PRINTED IN INDIA BY THE GENERAL MANAGER, GOVT. OF INDIA PRESS,
NEW DELHI AND PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI, 1960
136 N.A. of I.—1.

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SOME FACTS BEHIND THE SECOND ANGLO-SIKH WAR

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My main aim in writing this article is to bring to the notice of the eminent historians assembled here certain factors which had influenced the outbreak of the so-called Second Anglo-Sikh War of 1848-1849, but which have either escaped the popular gaze or have not been sufficiently appreciated by those who have so far dealt with this subject.

It is well known that by the treaty of March 1846, the Lahore Kingdom was sliced into three portions, one handed over to Raja Gulab Singh forming the Jammu and Kashmir State, another including the Jullundher Doab annexed to the British Empire and the third left to Maharaja Dalip Singh, the minor son of Ranjit Singh. By the same treaty a British force with a British Agent was to stay at Lahore till the end of 1846, while the internal administration was to be carried on by a Council of Ministers with Raja Lal Singh as the Chief Minister and Maharani Jindan Kaur acting as the guardian of the minor Dalip Singh. It was an excellent arrangement from the point of view of both the parties. The Maharani and Raja Lal Singh were rewarded for their treachery to their Kingdom before and during the first Anglo-Sikh War, while the British, who were not yet in a position to shoulder the responsibilities of directly ruling the Punjab, got in the Maharani and the Council a nice team to rule according to their will. A sort of *Do-Amli* was thus established at Lahore.

But the compromise formula did not work for long due to the indecent haste of Henry Lawrence, the first British Agent at Lahore, to make a case for prolonging their stay at Lahore against the terms of the Lahore Treaty. In view of the unsettled position of the Lahore Durbar after its late defeat and a number of other problems seeking immediate solution such as the transfer of territories to Maharaja Gulab Singh, the trouble in Kangra, financial difficulty in paying the war indemnity, and establishing law and order in the Kingdom, it was not difficult for the British to stay on beyond December 1846 and in fact Maharani Jindan Kaur and almost all the Chiefs desired the British to stay. But the most unfortunate part of it was that the British not only wanted to stay on, but to stay on their own terms, which were more humiliating than the humiliation already suffered by the Durbar while signing the first treaty.

Unfortunately for the British, Maharani Jindan Kaur was endowed with sufficient intellect to see through this game at a very early stage, and became determined to meet the new danger with a statesmanlike resolution. While therefore Henry Lawrence on his own side had started a subtle game of slandering the Maharani both in public and in his official despatches, the Maharani could find many smouldering embers left of the last war to start a new conflagration. There were the several thousands of disbanded and unemployed Khalsa soldiers still licking their wounds and ready to take revenge. In addition to them there were hundreds of jagirdars, who had either suffered or were likely to suffer due to the vindictiveness of the new British masters. Some of the nobler chiefs in the higher hierarchy had also found it difficult to reconcile themselves to the changed political set-up. On the top of it the general public was not at all happy with the *Farangis* ruling over them, more so when they had ushered their rule by wounding the time-honoured religious and social sentiments of the people. Misbehaviour of the British soldiers towards native women, their forcible entry into the precincts of the sacred Golden Temple at Amritsar with shoes on, killing cows in the Punjab for their use were not minor provocations to be borne with by the sturdy Punjabis¹. The 'cow incident' of 21 April 1846 made the position of the British *vis-a-vis* the Lahore Durbar quite clear to the public. On this day, one European artilleryman at Lahore slashed a number of cows with his sword as the innocent herd had blocked his way. This created such a great wave of indignation among residents of the city that Henry Lawrence had himself to go into the town to calm down the people. On his way into the city the British Agent and his party were pelted with brickbats from the roofs of the adjoining houses. Lawrence made it a case of insult to the British nation and compelled the Durbar to surrender the so-called criminals. Dutt Brahmin, Rullia Misser and others, to be punished by him. The British Agent was in no mood to excuse the Durbar, even when the next day Raja Lal Singh brought the young Maharaja to the Agent's tent for "being excused for what had happened." Henry Lawrence got the criminals hanged while letting his own artilleryman go with the remark that in future he should be more careful². What a commentary on the Anglo-Sikh treaty of March 1846! Henry Lawrence was also responsible for losing the sympathy of the Attariwala chiefs, Sardar Chuttur Singh and his son Sher Singh, by interfering in the proposed matrimonial alliance of the young Maharaja with the Sardar's daughter. He also mishandled the case of Dewan Mool Raj, Governor of Multan, all with a view to humiliate him.

All these acts of the British were responsible for creating more discontent among all sections of the people resulting in a number of

1. *Lahore Political Diaries*, 1847-49, Vol. III, pp. 88, 233-36, and Jagmohan Mahajan *Circumstances Leading to the Annexation of the Punjab*, 1846-49, pp. 39-41.

2. Jagmohan Mahajan, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-41.

conspiracies like the famous Prema Conspiracy. But when these attempts failed, there was no alternative left but to put up an open revolt against the British. I will limit myself here to the part played by Jindan Kaur in secretly preparing the chiefs and the people for the open revolt, the so-called Second Anglo-Sikh War.

The secret plan of the Maharani is revealed from certain letters which were found on the person of one Mohan, a servant of Missar Shib Dayal, the family priest of the Maharani. Mohan and Shib Dayal were captured towards the end of June 1848, on the basis of intelligence given to Currie by one Gama Beg working in the Intelligence Department of the British Magistracy at Lahore. Gama Beg had been informed about this by one goldsmith of Lahore named Maharaj³. The facts contained in the above letters were also proved from the statement given by Ganga Ram before his execution in June 1847 as well as from the facts of the Prema Conspiracy already known.

In all there were thirty letters found with Mohan of which numbers 1-4, 7-9, 13-15, 17-22 and 24 are of special significance⁴. These are described below :

Letter No. 1.

It is a Gurmukhi letter written by Maharani Jindan Kaur (called Bibi Sahib) to Shib Dayal and Umrao Singh⁵. She writes, "I have received your letter and understood its contents, with which my heart was greatly delighted. Send Umrao Singh hither. I have forwarded some property to Naranjan which take. If you require more, send to me for it by one of your confidential people. Work quickly, delay not, make much of a few words."

Letter No. 2.

Supposed to be written by Maharani Jindan Kaur to Mian Jawahar Singh, son of late Raja Dhyan Singh. He had reached Lahore with the intention of settling the dispute regarding the division of his father's property, but was supposed to have conspired with the Maharani. Maharani wrote to him, "I hope much from you, act in such a way as will prove of service to the *Guddee*. Place reliance in whatever Dada Shib Dayal may say to you."

3. For Sec. Cons. dated 27 Jany. 1849. No. 143.

4. For Sec. Cons. dated 27 Jany. 1149, No. 145, Most of the letters are undated.

5. Umrao Singh visited the Maharani twice at Sheikhupura. He was found tampering with Sepoys of 8th Native Infantry but on the seizure of Cahan Sing and Ganga Ram, he ran off with a Sanh named Gobind Das, who used to live in the tomb of Anakall in the Lissom of 50:h Native Infan ry.

Letter No. 3.

Written by Kahan Singh Mann to Jindan Kaur at Sheikhupura, at the time of his leaving for Multan. He informed the Maharani, "All the respectable officers in the Regiments have told me to write to the *Mai Sahib* (Maharani) not to leave Sheikhupura and come to Lahore, even if the English should go to bring her away. They say when we have killed the Europeans, we will release her. I have obtained the Government of Mooltan by your kindness. This will turn out well for you".... He further wrote, "Shib Dayal has spent 10,000 rupees. He will send me reports concerning the *Tillingas* and will write to me while I keep him informed of all my plans and he will reply to you. I have ordered the troops to obey the orders of dada Shib Dayal whether he orders during the day or during night.... Every one says that Currie Sahib has come here for some *particular purpose*. I will settle his business, will take Lahore without a struggle and rescue you from Sheikhupura. What crime have you committed?"

Letter No. 7.

Written by Shib Dayal to the Maharani from Lahore, informing her about the intention of the British to remove her from the Sheikhupura fort. Shib Dayal also informed the Maharani that Ganga Ram her personal servant and Kahan Singh (General) were hanged by the British for the crime of tampering with the sepoys. He also mentioned about another prisoner in the above case, who was not executed and on the basis of the information given by him, several sepoys had been seized, while some others had escaped. The late Ganga Ram's mother and sister were also seized and beaten and one amulet containing a secret paper was obtained from them. He concludes the letter with the remarks, "They were going to seize the *Sadh* in Anarkali. I received intelligence of this and procured his escape. Umrao Singh Poorbea ran off with him. They have gone to Multan. Tulsi Ram mentions seven names, but I know nothing further..... Dewan Mool Raj's troops have retreated and fled. You have no friends now here..... All your power has been thrown into a well. Look to God and make some arrangements. Some Day the Maharaja will be sent away from here."⁶

Letter No. 8.

Written to the Bibi Sahiba by Shib Dayal wherein he says, "Your servant Naranjan has arrived with your order and the property which I have received. Its value is 11,000, and with this sum the affair cannot be accomplished. You have desired me to send for more if required. I will send the day after tomorrow one of my confidential servants. I will

6. It is said that when the Maharani was being removed from Sheikhupura, one of her slave girls remarked to the representative of the British, "It is well for you that you have come now, an hour more, and it would have been too late."

send a man to Naranjan who will forward him to you. In future do not send gold or jewels but a draft on Hurjass jeweller or Gangoo Shah. Where can I sell the gold and jewels? . . . what you have already sent and all you may send in future, I will collect and then distribute it to the troops."

Letter No. 9.

Written to the Bibi Sahiba by Shib Dayal. In this letter Shib Dayal alludes to his having received a letter from Kahan Singh Mann assuring Maharani of fidelity on his own part and on the part of Dewan Mool Raj saying, "Be assured. You will now see with your own eyes the fruit of the representations I made to you before. Mool Raj has plenty of money and the Shrofs will give him more. Fight! If you want more money you can get it. The Dewan has written to the Hazarah and Peshawar troops promising them 15 rupees monthly. He is constantly recruiting. Be careful in your management. When I have settled affairs here. I will come to Lahore and display my services." Shib Dayal further informs the Maharani that according to her order Kahan Singh had sent a messenger to Maharaja Gulab Singh, who had returned a message with the words, "Do not be afraid. They (The British) will not remain many days longer. I have arranged my plans, the Dooranees will join them and ordance [sic] to the Attock [sic], the Jammoo troops will march here all depends on the will of Devee."⁷

Letter No. 13.

Written to the Mai Sahiba by Umrao Singh. "I have received an answer from (Shib Dayal) to the letter which I sent with a picture (letter) to you. I send two letters to Bishun Singh Sepoy, 5th Company of Chunda-ka-Prasad's Regiment (with Sher Singh) to which I have as yet received no answer. Chet Singh Colonel, Kanh Singh General whose name has been struck off and Tulsi Ram Commandant are engaged in your service (51st N. Infantry). In the Doobasun Regiment Sheikh Jung Ali and Khaleefa have made arrangements. This Regiment has marched to Ferozpur. (73rd Regt.) In the 73rd Regiment Bidijo Singh (Bidasda), Luchun Singh, Ungud (Shookur) and Hyder Khan, I have arranged with." (50th Reg.) "In the Kareetun (Kristeen) Regiment, I have settled with Bhagwan Singh, Ujoodhya Singh, Gya Deen⁸, Omran Shhokur (Sokur, Sokul), Dunya Singh Jemadar and Shookhnundan (Sookhoo) Jamadar." (52nd Regt.) "In the Indree Regiment I have settled with Gunga Singh, Luchman Singh, Soodhan Shookal and Mohkam Singh. (18th Regt.) In the Raja Regiment, I have settled with Shib Suhai Singh⁹, Khaleefa, Ajowa Singh, Durga Parsad, Bhagwan Singh."

7. Maharaja Gulab Singh was also in correspondence with Sardar Chuttur Singh and Amir Dost Muhammad Khan. See Abbott's *Diaries* and *Lahore Political Diaries*.

8. Ajodhya Singh and Gaya Din deserted on 14 May.

9. Desereted on 13 May.

(8th Regt.) "In the Burdwan-ki-Pultun I have settled with Mohan Singh, Shiv Churn Tewaree, Shunkur Tewaree and Ruchpal Singh."

(46th Regt.) "In the Murod Regiment, Bishen Tewaree and Meer Hyder Alee I have arranged with."

(36th Regt.) "In the Baluntur Regiment Soobha Singh and Bhuwanee Bheekh Singh have joined me."

"In the Artillery through Jusuya (Jasoowaya) Singh I have settled with the Regiments through Munsa Ram, I have no fear. As soon as you answer this letter I will commence my operations. *I am a foreigner I have sold my head for religion..... I send this through Shib Dayal. Send an answer by the 1st Bysakh.*"

Letter No. 14.

Written to Sree Bibi Sahiba by her Servant Mool Raj. Informs the Maharani about the plan unfolded to him by Kahan Singh Mann and writes, "I have sent one of my people and Kanh Singh two of his dressed as *fakirs*. What ever orders you may send I will obey, you must not now treasure up your money, if the affair is to be accomplished by spending money, spend freely. Be confident, write to me whatever you may think befitting. This affair must be accomplished by your *Poonya* (merit) for I am ignorant, I will come to your feet."

Letter No. 15.

Urzee to the Junab Hazoor Sree Bibee Sahiba written by Kahan Singh. In this letter, the Sardar informs the Maharani of his arrival at Multan and his having received a *Parwanah* in Gurmukhi through the son of Miser Shib Dayal. Also informs her that an *urzee* in Gurmukhi written by Dewan Mool Raj will reach her through the son of Shib Dayal. The letter is closed with the remarks, "Arrangements have been made with the Telengas and as you were in former times in correspondence with Raja Goolab Singh, write to him, for now is the time. If the present moment should pass away it will be too late. In future you are master." [Supposed signature of Kahan Singh.]

Letter No. 17.

Addressed to Bibi Sahiba and the Maharaja by Kahan Singh. He writes, "Kanh Singh is your Mookhtar, he has united with himself in this design, Runjore Singh and Urjun Singh. Letters have been sent by the Sepoy[s] here to the Jullundur Doaba through Kanh Singh [General] to persuade the Sepoys there to join also in the plan for releasing the Cow [Maharani] and giving her assistance. This they have consented to do

and letters have been received from them. Some day must be fixed and when this has been settled the matter will be accomplished. Kahn Singh sent me to Jowahir Singh [Son of late Raja Dhyan Singh] in the Aloowallah's [Ahluwalia's] garden where I had a conversation with him. I have already mentioned to you what kind of a person Jowahir Singh is. The Sepoys here and at Jullundher, who have joined us, have been promised promotion."

Letter No. 21.

Written to Bibi Sahiba by Kahan Singh Mann. After giving information about the proceedings of Mr. Currie about her and the views of other Chiefs of the Council, he wrote, "I am leaving Lahore [for Mooltan] and the territory is in your hand. People there are your servants. My *vakil* will give information concerning the Durbar through Shib Dayal who will also obtain news from Moulvi Rujub Alee and give you intelligence. You have written to me to make some arrangements for sending letters about your release. You write also that by my advice you have entered into a correspondence with Goolab Singh and that you approve of the measures I have taken concerning the troops. This is no child's play. If the scheme does not answer the fall will be into abyss and one's life will be the forfeit.... I will write to you concerning the arrangements I shall make in Mooltan about the Fort and the troops. Shib Dayal will send you intelligence."

Letter No. 22.

Written to the Maharani by Shib Dayal. He informs Jindan Kaur that Kahan Singh's *Vakil* Amar Singh went to Amritsar from where he returned after 7 days. Also informs her about the efforts made by the Anarkali *Sadh* and Sardar Jawahar Singh in contacting the Sepoys in the cantonments of Ludhiana, Ferozpur, Ambala and Meerut. Asks the Maharani to send money which he had promised to the 800 or 900 *Poorbeas* collected by him for the purpose. Also complains that last year when she had sent him to Kashmir, she did not send him money which she afterwards regretted.

Letter No. 24.

From Maharani Jindan Kaur to Shib Dayal. She acknowledges the above letter and informs about her having sent to Jiwan Singh a bill for Rs. 50,000 and also having understood his reference to the month of *Cheit*¹⁰ in one of his letters. The letter is concluded with the following remarks, "You write to me, advising me not to write any thing lest the paper should be seized. Do not be afraid, write without hesitation. I am not so foolish as to write in such a way as will injure me. I know that Jawahir Singh was dead, my Jowahir Singh is now alive (in you) I have no care."

10. Reference to the month of *Cheit* (February/March) shows that the rising at Multan was almost in accordance with the settled plan.

Since the above letters were sent by Currie along with a memorandum dated 18th December 1848,¹¹ it will be interesting to quote a few passages from this memorandum. In the memorandum Currie mentions his having heard from Lt. Lake at Jullundher as early as February about the rumours of a general rising in the near future. He also writes that he had talked about this matter to Henry Lawrence, but that the latter said that he knew there was a notion of the kind abroad but that he put no faith in it. "He said he had been told positively by a very trustworthy and intelligent officer connected with the Government, Miser Sahib Dayal, that a disturbance would take place in the spring, but that as he could give him no distinct reasons for saying so, he thought little of the matter, though he had no doubt that Sirdar Lehna Singh Majeeta had left the Punjab from apprehension of some such occurrence."¹² Currie continues. "A few weeks after I had been at Lahore, Major Napier wrote to me stating that whenever he was employed on the survey duties allusions were made by the people and especially by soldiers of his escort to his servants of the inutility of their work, as the Europeans would not be allowed to remain much longer in the Punjab". Similar statements are found, continues Currie, in Captain Abbott's Diaries. Currie further continued that the above rumours were then confirmed by Ganga Ram, the confidential *vakil* of the Maharani, who a night before his execution¹³ stated "that the Mooltan murders were premeditated and preconcerted by Sirdar Kanh Singh Man with the Maharanee before he went to Mooltan, and that the Maharanee was in correspondence with all the Chiefs and Sirdars except Raja Deena Nath, and with Maharaja Gulab Singh for the organisation of resistance to the British Power and that the chiefs who had gone to Mooltan would not act against Mool Raj."

सत्यप्रबन्ध

Currie also mentions in the memorandum of his having been secretly told by a relative of a very influential man in the state "that the intention of an insurrection, with a view to getting rid of the English from the Punjab, had been constantly agitated since the very hour of signing the treaty, and had never been lost sight of. He said that the Prema Plot as it is usually called was not the scheme of a few parties in the Rani's interest but was known to almost every one, but the immediate intended victims and that all subsequent operations, had the murders at Shalimar taken place, were planned. He stated that from the time of the Maharanee's residence at Sheikhoopoorah, intrigues had been constantly on foot, and that during the last cold weather a plan for a general insurrection

11. For. Sec. Cons. dated 27 January 1849, Nos. 141-42.

12. Sardar Lehna Singh Majithia had also left the Punjab before the first general rising in that Kingdom which had resulted in the First-Anglo-Sikh War of 1845-46.

13. Ganga Ram was hanged as he was caught tampering with the Sepoys of British Regiments at Lahore.

had been determined on in concert with Maharaja Goolab Singh, that the Barukzye-Chiefs had been sounded and had been promised Peshawar as the reward for their cooperation." "It was asserted by this person", continues the memorandum, "that the visit of Mean Jawahir Singh to Lahore at the time it took place was in connection with the Sheikhoopora intrigues, and that he withdrew from the affair *as most others had for the present done*, in consequence of the occurrences of Mooltan which had introduced Dewan Mool Raj into the affair who was not intended to have a part, and whose conduct had caused a disturbance in Mooltan, but it was to have been brought about after Mool Raj's departure by Sirdar Kanh Singh Man. when things were more rife and arrangements further advanced."

From the study of the above letters (unless they were fabricated) and Currie's memorandum a number of issues come to light:

1. That these letters can provide a missing link in the chain of events which led to the outbreak of revolt against the British.
2. That Maharani Jindan Kaur played a vital role in preparing the chiefs and the people for the revolt.
3. That Dewan Mool Raj had deliberately decided to collaborate with Sardar Kahan Singh Mann in starting the rebellion at Multan and that he was not the "Victim of Circumstances" as is generally said about him¹⁴.
4. That as usual Maharaja Gulab Singh had all through been playing a double role as he continued his secret correspondence with the Maharani, Kahan Singh Mann, Dewan Mool Raj, and Sardar Chuttur Singh and not coming to their help when the opportunity arose.

But all these facts cannot certainly exonerate the British from deliberately going back upon their solemn promises made to the Lahore Durbar in the treaties of March 1846 and December 1846, and meting out disrespectful and provocative treatment to Maharani Jindan Kaur and of illegally treating the revolt of a few chiefs as the revolt of the Lahore Durbar as a whole simply to make a case for the annexation of

14. *Trial of Dewan Mul Raj*, edited by Prof. Sita Ram Kohli, p. 21.

the Punjab. Be that as it may, if the facts contained in the above letters are true, they certainly leave a pleasant memory of the honourable part played by Jindan Kaur, the Dewan of Multan and the Attariwala chiefs¹⁵, for the cause of justice and freedom of their motherland.



15. The following conversation of Sardar Chuttur Singh Attariwala with Surat Singh Majithia and Kahan Singh Majithia at Peshawar in the month of Baisakh 1904 (April/May 1847) is a memorable testimony to the character of the Attariwala chief. Chuttur Singh said, "The British have behaved harshly to the Maharanee in sending her to Shekhoopoora. It is better that the Punjab should be devastated and plundered. It is to be lamented that no one of the Durbar prevented this act, by which the honour of the State has been compromised.... The best thing to be done is that I go to Lahore, and request the British to release the Maharanee. If I am successful, well, but if not, I will give up my Jagir, and not enjoy the fruit of ingratitude in my old age." For Sec. Cons. dated 27 Jany. 1849, No. 144. See also *Private Correspondence Relating to the Anglo-Sikh-Wars*, edited by Dr. Ganda Singh, Appendix C "Letters of Maharani Jindan Kaur", pp. 488-93.

SOME UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF RAJA SHITAB RAI TAKEN FROM COLLECTIONS OF THE COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS OFFICE LIBRARY

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Some documents were recently procured by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute from the Commonwealth Relations Office Library, London, under the scheme of collection of materials for a comprehensive History of Bihar which is being prepared under the auspices of the Institute. Among these there were two unnamed collections of Persian letters,¹ bearing on the political history of Bihar and Bengal in the 18th Century. Neither of the collections contains either the name of the compiler or the date of its compilation. The greater portion of the collections is taken up by the correspondence between Vansittart on the one hand and Mir Jafar and Mir Qasim on the other. The letters of Mir Qasim, some of which are included in English translation in Vansittart's "Transactions", bear testimony to the highhanded interference of the English in the general administration and the economic exploitation by the Gumashtas (Agents) of the Company all over the province, causing extensive financial loss to the Government and general economic distress among the people. The letters of Mir Jafar indicate a similar trend. They also show that even after his restoration he was not just a supine puppet in the hands of the English as he is generally supposed to be. He protested, in writing, against the interferences by the English but he was powerless to do anything. Besides the letters of these two, there are also several letters from some of the other important contemporary personalities like Shah Alam II, Shuja-uddaula, Siraj-uddaula, Iraj Khan, Jagat Seth, Mahabat Rai and his two sons Khushhalchand and Udaichand, Sheo Bhatt, the Marhatta Chief, Majors Knox and Carnac, etc.

There are also some other letters written by persons of a somewhat earlier period. For instance, there is a letter² from Raja Sobha Singh³ to Aurangzeb criticizing him, in surprisingly strong terms, for his levy of *Jaziya* and challenging him to impose the levy first on powerful Hindu chiefs rather than on helpless common citizens.

1. Ethe's Catalogue Nos. 2131 and 2371, ff. 74 and 50 respectively. There are several blank folios in both the MSS.

2. Ff. 25A-26A.

3. He was a Bengal Chieftain who rose in rebellion during the reign of Aurangzeb.

There is another letter⁴ from Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk to Muhammad Shah admonishing him as an elder but in a respectful manner for his easy-going ways and advising him to give more attention to the matters of the State. These letters, probably the only ones of their kind, deserve separate and detailed treatment. Their presence in this collection is a bit inexplicable.

Many of the letters included in these collections are also available in English translation in the Foreign Political Series of the records preserved in the National Archives. These are arranged there, under the heading "Country Powers". Some of these letters also appear to be similar to those whose "Abstracts" are included in the first volume of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*. It is, however, difficult to be precise about this since the said volume contains only the "Abstracts". In fact, it appears to me that these collections contain the original Persian Letters some of whose "Abstracts" are preserved in the National Archives. No definite opinion is, however, possible on this point until all the Letters have been thoroughly compared and even then the presence of some of the letters of the earlier period remains a bit inexplicable.

It will be helpful to mention here that Dr. Wilson had also discussed a collection, remarkably similar to the present ones, in the course of an article in a very old issue of the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London⁵. The collection was purchased by him for the then Library of the East India Company, along with several other collections and documents belonging to one R.E. Robert, of whom, however, nothing was known to him. He has discussed and translated some of the letters belonging to that collection which are also present in these two collections⁶. Detailed comparision between the present copies and that of Dr. Wilson is not possible because he has mentioned neither the full list of contents nor the number of folios in his copy.

But this much is clear that the present copies are somewhat different and comparatively defective. For instance the name of the addressee is not mentioned in one of the letters⁷ included in one of the present collections whereas Dr. Wilson's copy contained the full name. Then again the present collections contain, at some places⁸, obvious mistakes in the construction of sentences, causing some confusion, but Dr. Wilson's copy has the correct sentences. Dr. Wilson has quoted the texts of only 6 letters in his articles from which these comparisons have been made. Had the full text been given the present collections could have been more profitably corrected.

4. Ff. 41A-42B.

5. JRAS. Vol. XIII (1852). Article VII. Pp. 115-45.

6. The letters covering the following folios in the present MSS. are similar to those quoted by Dr. Wilson. No. 2131 Ff. 1A-3B. No. 2371 Ff. 1A-2B, 3A-4B, 5A-6A, 10B-11B. In some cases the text given by Dr. Wilson is more correct and also larger than that given in these MSS.

7. No. 2371. f. 3A.

8. These have been referred to in the course of the article.

9. The two MSS. together contain over 80 letters.

In this paper only the letters of Shitab Rai, and those relating to him, have been translated and discussed. Shitab Rai was one of the important political personalities of Bihar in the 18th century. He served as the Naib Subadar and Naib Dewan of the province for a period of seven years (1765-1772). He not only played a decisive role in the establishment of the English rule over Bihar and Bengal but was of considerable help to the English, in the later stages, in the administration of the province. He regularly attended the meetings of the Controlling Committee of Revenue, Patna, which administered the affairs of Bihar from 1770—72. Being the only member fully conversant with the modes and procedures of the previous administration, he was a great help to the Committee in its deliberations. Several problems, relating both to the previous history and administrative procedures, were referred to him for information, and his replies, in the shape of Memoranda, are still available among the proceedings of the said Committee and are worth our attention and study. The letters discussed here relate to three different topics:—(1) the unpleasant relations existing between Shitab Rai and Mir Qasim, the reasons thereof, and the attempts of the English to intercede on behalf of the former; (ii) the role played by Shitab Rai in the negotiations between the English on the one hand and Shah Alam II and Shuja-uddaula on the other in the years preceding and following the battle of Buxar; (iii) the infamous conspiracy by Mir Jafar, Miran and Caillaud to kill Shah Alam II.

Under the first heading there are 3 letters, one from Shitab Rai to Henry Vansittart and two from Mir Qasim to the latter, probably in reply to the former. Mir Qasim, in order to meet the heavy financial obligations imposed on him by the terms of the Agreement which procured him the *Masnad* of Bengal and also to stabilise the financial position of his Government, demanded an account of the revenues from some of the important functionaries like Raja Ram Narain and others from whom considerable amount of revenues were due. Shitab Rai was also asked to explain his accounts, but he took shelter under the friendly attitude of the English towards him. The strong and disparaging epithets used by Mir Qasim in these letters in relation to Shitab Rai give us an idea of the strength of his feelings against, and his contemptuous attitude towards, Shitab Rai.

Under the second heading there are six letters, four from Shitab Rai and two from Shah Alam. Two of Shitab Rai's letters are addressed to Henry Vansittart and the other two to Major Knox. The *Shuqqa* and *Firman* of Shah Alam relate to the deputation of Sahib Rai to the English for negotiations and emphasise the trust and confidence enjoyed by Shitab Rai in the Imperial camp and instruct the English to discuss the details with the trusted envoy who was given wide discretion for effecting the desired settlement.

The role played by Shitab Rai in these negotiations is well-known¹⁰. These letters (unpublished so far) throw some additional and corroborative light on the tangled course of events in Bihar during the middle of the 18th century and depict, in his own writing, the decisive role he played in the establishment of English power in these two Eastern Provinces. The first letter addressed to Vansittart and the one addressed to Knox dated 29th Jamadi II show that during his stay at the Imperial camp he was regularly transmitting information about the movements and intentions of the "enemys" to the English and even when he had to leave the Imperial camp for a short time owing to the unfavourable attitude of Shah Alam II, he instructed his agents at Patna and in the Imperial camp to keep on sending information. In fact the collection¹¹ contains a detailed report by one Suchit Rai, a Gumashta of Shitab Rai, of an engagement between Shuja-uddaula and the English. Similar other reports must have been sent.

Under the third heading there are only two documents, one a long letter from Shitab Rai to Hastings giving a full account of how the conspiracy to kill Shah Alam II was evolved, who were involved and who was to do the deed. There is also an enclosure, being the copy of the original letter bearing the seals of Mir Jafar, Miran and Caillaud, and addressed to Khande Rai, asking him to "arrange the deed" and promising to pay him Rupees one lakh on the performance of the deed. This affair, when it became known, excited considerable sensation in England and was subjected to a Parliamentary investigation. This enquiry, however, related primarily to Caillaud's part in the affair. The importance of the present document lies in the fact that it gives a full account of the affair in the words of one who had the rare privilege of being in the know of things on both the sides—the English and the Indian.

A few words in explanation of the arrangement and translation of the letters is necessary. The letters are spread over the two collections haphazardly. The collections should be read together for some of the letters in them are interconnected. In fact a number of letters are common to both¹². I have arranged them here according to the subject to which they relate without necessarily following the order in which they are given in the collections. Most of the letters are not dated but some idea of their date can be formed on the basis of the contents. Lastly in the original Persian texts, both the direct and indirect forms of narration have been used freely and I have translated them as they are. The flowery and long winding titles and complimentary epithets at the beginning of some of the letters have been omitted in the translation.

10. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. I, Nos. 1964, 1965, 1985, 2000, 2002, 2021, 2035, 2096, 2125, etc. *Siyar-ul-Mutaakherin* (Eng. tr.) Vol. II, pp. 123-24
Broome, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army* (London 1850) pp. 326-27.

11. MS. No. 2131 Ff. 54B—56B. Its full translation has not been given due to lack of space.

12. Folios 28-41 of No. 2371 contains exactly the same letters available in the other one.

Copy of Shitab Rai's Letter¹³

My benefactor, kind Sir, at the time when I, your friend, entered the Province of Bihar, Nawab Colonel Sabitjung (Caillaud) was present in India. Your friend has (ever since) acted in promoting the interests of this friendship (with the English) and has wished them well. It is well known that I did not spare myself even in battles¹⁴ and the whole world knows that I am the friend of the English and they too have kindly feelings towards me. Accordingly, at the desire of Colonel Clive I ventured to proceed to the Imperial camp for the negotiation of terms at a time when no one else dared to go there, and later on participated in the battle and also made considerable efforts in negotiating a settlement. The services I have performed are well known to the English gentlemen.

After it, however, the unexpected happened for the Nawab Sahib (Mir Qasim) became my mortal enemy on account of my friendship with the English gentlemen and forcibly took over my personal jagirs and the Diwani and custodianship of the Rohtas Fort. Besides, he also appropriated the Jagirs of Nawab Samsamuddaula¹⁵ which had for long been in the possession of the holders (of these jagirs), and no previous Nazim had appropriated them. I had represented all these facts before Nawab Shamshuddaula (Vansittart) at the time of his departure to Calcutta and he, very kindly, had assured me he would get a settlement made between the Nawab Sahib and myself and that there would be no interference in my personal jagirs and the Diwani and the custodianship of the Rohtas Fort. He accordingly gave me letters. Accidentally, however, on reaching Azimabad I fell ill and could take no action (in this matter). Later on the Nawab Sahib did not agree to my staying at Azimabad. The English gentlemen did nothing in this matter. It is surprising that in spite of the favourable attitude of these gentlemen my affairs are being ruined. I am therefore writing these few words to you taking you to be my well wisher and in the hope that you will say a few words in my favour to the Nawab Sahib. If your friend's interests are secured through your kind attention it would spread the good name of the English gentlemen and would also put me under obligation. And if the Nawab should say that the Sanads of Diwani and Qiladari have not been procured from the King and since I cannot argue with him, you kindly tell (him) that I can obtain renewal of the said Sanads from the King. All this cannot be achieved without the full and kind attention of yourself and Nawab Shamshuddaula. If you gentlemen will kindly attend to it, it may be

13. MS. No. 2371, ff. 4B—5A.

14. This probably refers to the engagement in 1760 between Khadim Hussain Khan of Purnea and Knox in which Shitab Rai took a prominent part for which he was loudly praised by Knox.

15. Shitab Rai was originally sent to Bihar to look after the Jagir of Samsamuddaula.

achieved. And if the Nawab does not agree to my presence in Bihar I shall not go (there) but will appoint a sincere deputy. In short, how much shall I write. Kindly do whatever you can.

Letter from Mir Qasim to the Governor (Vansittart)

Your friendly letter, bearing the stamp of sincerity, with the letter which Shitab Rai had written to you and your reply thereto, have been received. I am glad to learn of your welfare and I have come to know the contents of the (above) letters. My dear Sir, I am bewildered as to how such a bad character and a loafer of Delhi (Shitab Rai) had gained admittance into the distinguished company of you gentlemen and how you bestow favour on him as if he were the choicest one of the age? He prays for the grant of Rohtas and other jagirs. Who is he, and to which prince's parentage does he belong? What are the names of his ancestors? Why does he put forward claims as if these jagirs belonged to him by inheritance? Has he forgotten the days when he did money-lending business at Delhi, that he is behaving in this (insolent) manner now, and making claims to jagirs and fortress belonging to princes? These appertain to, and are part of, the imperial service. Since I am the Nazim of this place, His Majesty the Shadow of God (Shah Alam II) has granted them to me and I pay their revenues. Where, then, is the occasion for all this petitioning and praying by him? (Governmental) services are not the inherited monopoly of anybody. I govern on behalf of your august self and have experience of all sorts of men. You reply in such venerable terms to the letters of such an ill-bred loafer (Shitab Rai) and he shows it off to all and sundry as a proof of his being on terms of friendship with the Chief of Calcutta. This has a bad effect on my administration and is also a reflection on and insult to your exalted self. Your letters are worthy of being addressed to kings and nobles. I cannot understand why they (the letters) are wasted on all and sundry. I hope that, bearing in mind the evil effects of this action both on your good name and my administration, you will refrain in future from writing such letters.

Letter from Mir Qasim to the Governor (Vansittart)

The account of Shitab Rai's wickedness and evil intentions has already been sent to you and things might have become clear to you (from it). How much should I write about the mischiefs of the above named person? The friendship which Major Carnac and the other English gentlemen had with my humble self could not be disturbed on any account. But this man of evil disposition, along with Raja Ram Narain, having poisoned the minds of the said gentlemen and having obtained some intimacy with the gentlemen in the King's camp, attempted to create bad feelings between the English and my humble self and to break the ties of cordial relationship and hearty union (between us). By the grace of God and your own kindness (towards me)

his machination did not succeed. What fraud and intrigue did he not attempt during these last 6 or 7 months that I have been staying here in this province?

Having been in arrears, and ruined the entire amount (of revenues), due to me, he involved me in debts for (payment of) necessary expenses and the salaries of the soldiers. At the time of His Majesty's arrival in Patna Rupees 15 lakhs had been decided between us as the revenue of the Province. As the above mentioned person (Shitab Rai) had accepted, in the name of some other persons, the settlement for the province of Bengal for (a Jumma of) 60 lakhs so the matter cannot be (now) settled by me except for the payment of less than 40 lakhs. My friend, you will thus realise the loss which I have been put to and the mischiefs he has committed and therefore it behoves you to mete out the punishment he deserves. Now that he has gone there (Calcutta ?) he will spare no efforts in back-biting me. I am writing in brief an account of the dues from him.

Mir Mohd. Jafar Khan during the time of his Nizamat had repeatedly forbidden Raja Ram Narain to give Shitab Rai any jagir or interest in the Mahals. The last mentioned person, however, procured some jagirs from the said Raja by flattering him and misappropriated the revenues from those jagirs. Now he wants deductions of those amounts from me. My friend you are the wise one of the age; please ponder as to how is it in consonance with the terms of equity that having procured jagirs in violation of the Nazim's orders and having misappropriated their revenues he (Shitab Rai) now deserves deductions of those amounts from me? How can I allow deduction of these amounts to him? The amounts due from him will become clear to your friendly attention from the accompanying statement in English. I hope that having perused it you shall make such arrangements that the amounts due may be realised and this humble friend may be relieved from (the demands of) his creditors through your kind intervention (in this matter). What more shall I write? May the days of your happiness increase.

Shitab Rai to the Governor¹⁶

The reasons for the interruption in my dispatch of letters during the last few days are known to your esteemed self. Owing to a change in the attitude of His Majesty this friend of yours had separated himself from the Imperial camp and had been staying at Partapgarh. But the Invisible God was busy (all the time) in protecting our interest. I had deputed my agents at Patna to send information on the general state of affairs to the Major Sahib (Caillaud?) and to your august self.

16. *Ibid.* Ff. 25A—68B. Owing to the binders' mistake this letter has been carried over from f. 25B to f. 66B.

After the battle¹⁷ of 1st Ziqad, 5th Julius several letters have been received from the Emperor and from the Nawab Wazirul-Mamalik (Shuja-uddaula) asking me to come. I have repeatedly written back that since my advice was not accepted at that time and those acts were committed on the evil advice of self-seekers what could I do now? Lest, however, they (Imperial side) should take it ill, I presented myself in the Camp near Buxar where they are still halting. Discussions on many subjects took place. Your friend submitted (to them) what was in accord with your wishes viz., that no settlement was possible without handing over the enemy (Mir Qasim). His Majesty replied that to surrender him after he had sought refuge with his Lord and Master was against the Indian tradition. However he could, by other means, be rendered harmless and confined to a particular place, if the English gentlemen agree to his (Shah Alam's) terms. Since your sincere friend wishes well of the English gentlemen and is always willing to serve their interests and as there were certain matters which could not be put in writing your friend managed to get permission to leave from His Majesty and the Nawab Wazir and presented himself before the Major Sahib (————?) at Patna and narrated the whole state of affairs and suggested the terms which were conducive to the cessation of strife. If (however) you want some other terms they may be intimated to me so that I may try for them. I hope your Excellency and the Major Sahib have been apprised of the contents of the letter I wrote to you gentlemen. At present I am writing it in brief. This friend of yours strives for the good name of the English gentlemen and for the stabilisation of the Company's power. Our aim should therefore be the establishment of peace in our area and the strengthening of our hold. To my mind and also to those of other wise men it appears advisable that a settlement should be made with His Majesty and this comparatively unimportant affair (surrender of Mir Qasim?) should be tolerated for a while. Many of the Majesty's followers were setting impossible terms but your friend has now been able to bring them round (to the acceptance of suitable terms) and shall continue to do so. But without knowing your wishes (I) cannot say even a word. As soon as I find the Majesty in a suitable frame of mind I shall strive for arranging a settlement. Since the pros and cons of this matter are many and cannot be put in writing I shall send a full account to the Major, Mr. Bateson and Mr. Blake. You should call this for your perusal and read it carefully.

I have learnt that your august self and the Major intend to leave for Calcutta. Since your friend has himself seen the state of affairs here, and as the king's men have not been completely dispersed but are waiting for the waters to recede (to renew hostilities?) it will be in accordance with their (enemy's) own wishes. It is advisable that you should not think (in

17. This probably refers to the Battle of Buxar.

terms of) departing (to Calcutta) before obtaining a peace settlement and before the departure of the king himself from the boundaries of this Province (Bihar). You are however free to act as you think best.

In regard to the affair of the enemy (Mir Qasim) which I took up with the Nawab Wazir he was not in a mood to surrender him. In case of settlement, however, he (Mir Qasim) can be turned out of his (Wazir's) dominion, or kept in prison. This is for your information. May the sun of your fortune and wealth shine forth.

Shitab Rai to the Governor¹⁸:

My patron and benefactor! Since the Nawab Wazir and His Majesty the Shadow of God and His Vicegerent are (still) camping in the country and intend to move out after the rainy season, there is a chance of the country being ruined (in case this move actually materialises). Our object is peace but if for some reason this be not possible and recourse may have to be taken to war, adequate preparations for that may also be made. There is no better method for this than keeping a large number of forces ready and winning the allegiance of important chiefs. As they (Imperial side) have a large number of forces with them and their numbers will further increase after the rains, nothing untoward will happen if we too have a sufficiently large force with us. I have written all these matters in detail to the Major Sahib. My coming (desire to come?) is simply to meet you and the other gentlemen which I desire very much. I have stated in full what I have seen and heard personally. Over and above it I shall strive to act according to your wishes.

Letter from Shitab Rai to Major Knox¹⁹ dated 24th Jamadi II 5th Julus:

.....It is submitted to (you), the source of favours and patronage, that at the time of the departure for Calcutta you had given me a letter addressed to the Nawab Alijah (Mir Qasim) and stated that the Nawab Sahib would not interfere in matters relating to my Diwani and that in the case of his (Mir Qasim's) not agreeing my staying at Patna I would not stay there. Accordingly, and as the Nawab was not agreeable (to my presence) I after a few days stay at Azimabad, owing to illness, I left the Province through the kindness²⁰ of Mr. William Ellis, and entered the Imperial Camp. During this time owing to blockade of the Dak routes no letters could be sent to you. When, through the grace of God and the good management of the English gentlemen, a settlement with the (English?) chief was made in this Province a petition was submitted by me before Nawab Muzaffar-ul-Mulk Saif-uddaula Major Thomas Adams Ghalibjung.

18. MS. No. 2371. Ff. 67B-- 68A.

19. *Ibid.* Ff. 21B-- 22B.

20. Here, there is some mistake in the construction of the sentence.

Ever since I have arrived in the Imperial Camp I have repeatedly emphasised, to the best of my ability, the good and loyal intentions of the English gentlemen before the king and the courtiers so much so that the source of kindness, the King, and the Nawab Wazir themselves spoke favourably of you gentlemen.

During this time a special shuqqa from the King and other letters from the courtiers which were given to your friend were sent separately in a cover along with my own letters to the Major Sahib. The Major, by way of kindness, sent his replies to me. Following this your friend procured and sent to you (other) Shuqqas and Nim Asteen (robe of honour) for Nawab Shujaul-Mulk (Vansittart) and the Major Sahib. All these matters may have been made known to you through the Major Sahib. I had also procured special Shuqqas for you on previous occasions. The feeling of friendship I have for you, gentlemen, in the past, needs no emphasis. Keeping these (services) in view the negotiations were carried on through me in the past. I am still serving (your interests) in these negotiations and in future too shall spare no efforts. The chief who will be sent for negotiations with the King should be informed about me and my friendship (for the English). As soon as he arrives he should inform this friend (of his arrival) so that arrangement may be made in a becoming manner (for receiving him?). If he seeks the King's audience the negotiations should be carried through me only. Any other matter (to be submitted) to the king may frankly be intimated to me. Nothing more to write. May the Sun of your fortune shine forth.

Letter from Shitab Rai²¹ to Major Knox dated 29th Jamadi II 5th Julus:

"..... By the grace of God your friend along with Raja Beni Bahadur arrived at the bridgehead at Phaphamau ghat yesterday, the 27th inst. (?). Mir Qasim had arrived there one day earlier. The Maharaja Sahib sent word (to Mir Qasim) to get his men start crossing the bridge but the latter sent word that he (Beni Bahadur) should cross first and then he (Mir Qasim) should follow suit. As the Maharaja again sent word that he (Mir Qasim) should cross first, and he had been marching ahead in (all) the journeys so far, his men (Mir Qasim's) started crossing yesterday and are still crossing. We and the remaining force shall start crossing tomorrow. I shall cross with the Maharaja and on arriving, by the grace of God, in the King's Camp and after arranging for the grants of Sanads(?), shall return (to you). I presented the letter, which you gave to me at the time of departure, before His Majesty, through the Nawab Wazir, along with a Nazr of 101 Muhars. The special Shuqqa of His Majesty, and the kind letter which were received in reply have been sent to you under a cover. They may be read together. The receipts of your Nazr and

21. *Ibid.* Ff. 21A—21B.

those of Nawab Shuja-ul-mulk each bearing the seal of the Nawab Munir-uddaula²² had been received (but) I have not sent them (to you). On the arrival of the Army (?) I shall get a separate receipt and send them. The items of Peshkash (presents) and your correspondence were submitted before His Majesty through the Nawab Wazir and they were graced by the Imperial signature. The Gumashtas of your friend accordingly got a Firman for the Niabat of the Subah prepared. Now, negotiation for the settlement of the affairs of the Bihar Subah, on the terms on which it was (settled) with Mir Qasim, is going on. For that I have made my submission to the Nawab (Vansittart) and to yourself. As soon as the permission comes and the amount of Peshkash has been received the Sanad of the grants, according to the regulations, would be delivered to me, your friend. For the present there would be a short delay. Otherwise everything is alright. I do remember the desire expressed by you for swords, bows and arrows which I shall obtain for the Sarkar as soon as the Army arrives here.

Firman of Shah Alam²³ (to Vansittart):

“.....Be it known that through the mercy of God, who be praised, Shuja-uddaula having been defeated by the English, who are undoubtedly the well wishers of our Exalted self has been properly punished for his evil actions. Since this victory has been achieved by the grace of God and the efforts of the victorious Ghazis I have considered this (victory) as my own and bowed my head before God. May God the all powerful keep me and the English ever victorious. In accordance with the writing of our choice servant, Raja Shitab Rai, Our Royal self is about to depart for the Capital. The account of my displeasure against Shuja-uddaula will be made known to you by Raja Shitab Rai. At present in accordance with the submission of Raja Shitab Rai's Gumashta I am staying near Benares waiting for the reply of (this) Shuqqa. Submit to me (for consideration) whatever is in the interest of general amelioration as well as in the interest of the Company and the Englishmen so that necessary action may be taken by me accordingly. Details shall be learnt by you from Raja Shitab Rai. Our presents have been sent with Suchit Rai and Khyali Ram the Gumashtas of Raja Shitab Rai. Put on the presents (robes) and thank God and pay respect to me. Strive for the habitation of the ryots and (thereby) winning their affection. Consider Our favourable attention to be constantly with (upon) your own affairs. Keep us informed by your petitions of your welfare.

Firman of Shah Alam²⁴ to Governor:

“.....Be it known that it is incumbent on Our sincere servants to do everything possible for the habitation of the conquered territories and

22. Nawab Munir-uddaula was the chief adviser of Shah Alam during this time.

23. Ms. No. 2131. Ff. 53B—54B.

24. *Ibid.* Ff. 73A--73B.

the betterment of the people, and you (too) should strive (to do so). Since my attention is at present devoted to the betterment of the people and the habitation of the country I have accordingly ordered the house born one (Khana-Zad) worthy of favours, Raja Shitab Rai, to proceed to Calcutta. God willing (the letter of) his welfare shall reach me soon. A few words (indicative) of the terms of settlement, symbolic of the grace of the shadow of God and conducive to your welfare and the betterment of the ryots have been given to the Raja who will also give you the details. Bearing in mind the well known position and the confidence he enjoys, in this Heavenly Abode, because of his sincerity, his words should be carefully listened to, considered as the truth and acted upon. And in the case of (finalisation) of a settlement and performance of obedience, the needful shall be done for rewarding and patronizing the English chiefs who have written that they will remain obedient to me. In any case, Imperial favours and bounties shall be showered. Act contentedly, in accordance with the (our) order and the Statement of the house born one, worthy of favours (Shitab Rai).

The documents under the third heading have already been described above. Both of them have been translated in full in the article of Dr. Wilson²⁵ referred to above. I am, however, mentioning here only a few points of comparison between the texts as given in the present copies and those of Dr. Wilson. In the former (F.3B) the name of the person to whom Shitab Rai's account of affair was addressed is not given whereas in the latter it is given in full—*Jaladut Jung Mr. Hastings*. Then again on F.4A the present copy only says that the real document is at present with a person known to Shitab Rai. Dr. Wilson's copy gives the extra information that the said person was *living in Etawah*. Finally the letter to Khande Rai as given in Dr. Wilson's copy, has a postscript to the effect that *after the performance of the deed* (the killing of Shah Alam) *the zamindari of Kangar Khan* (in addition to Rupees one lakh in cash) *shall also be given to Khande Rai*.

25. JRAS Vol. XIII (1852) Pp. 116—119.

SOME LETTERS FROM JAIPUR RECORDS (PERSIAN) IN SIR JADUNATH SARKAR'S COLLECTIONS AT DR. RAGHUBIR SINH'S LIBRARY, SITAMAU (MALWA).

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During the last session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Trivandrum in 1958 I read an article on "Some letters in Hindi from Jaipur Records" which threw light on the military transactions undertaken in Bihar by Prince Sulaiman Shukoh under the guidance of Maharaja Jai Singh during the years 1657-58 against Prince Shuja, the Viceroy of Bengal and Orissa. It will be recalled that Shuja, on the news of Shahjahan's illness, "magnified by rumour into actual death",¹ had crowned himself in his provincial Capital at Rajmahal, and had marched with his force in Bihar which had been granted to Dara. Most of these letters had been written by Maharaja Jai Singh in the course of his journey to Monghyr and were addressed to his son Prince Kunwar Ram Singh at Akbarabad (Agra). A few were addressed to Kunwar Ram Singh by his followers like Dwarka Das and Harnath, and one letter was addressed to Maharaja Jai Singh by Prince Kunwar Ram Singh. The four unpublished letters² which I am now dealing with in this article also relate to the same subject. These letters are in Persian and all letters appear to be written on behalf of Shahjahan were addressed to Mirza Raja Jai Singh. These unpublished letters are very helpful in reconstructing the political history of Bihar in the sixties of the 17th century, and, therefore, they deserve a detailed treatment.

1. The first letter,³ written on behalf of Emperor Shahjahan, is dated 17 Rabi-ul-Awwal, (1068 H)⁴. It was written eight weeks before the battle

1. *Dara Shukoh* by Qanungo Vol. I. p. 166.

2. (a) Jaipur Records Vol. I. (Letters from Mughal Courts 1645—1660 A.D. and 1712—1713 A.D. p. 174, Sarkar's collections in Dr. Raghubir Sinh's Library at Sitamau (Malwa))

(b) Jaipur Records Vol. 2. (Letters from the Imperial Princes to the Amber Rajas 1626—1627 A.D. and 1633—1685 A.D. p. 405 Sarkar's collections, in Dr Raghubir Sinh's Library at Sitamau (Malwa)).

3. Jaipur Records Vol. 2. (Letters from the Imperial Princes to the Amber Raja 1626—27, 1633-85 A.D. pp. 314—15) Sarkar's collections.

4. 13th December, 1657 A.D. *vide Indian Ephemeris* by L. D. S. Pillai (1600—1799 A.D.).

of Bahadurpur which was fought on the 14th Feb. 1658 A.D.⁵ Dr. Qanungo,⁶ in his work on Dara Shukoh, has stated that Prince Sulaiman Shukoh, was appointed to the command of an army 22000 strong with Mirza Raja Jai Singh as his guardian in the last week of December, 1657 A.D. but this statement needs revision. Sulaiman's deputation must have taken place earlier than 13 December 1657 A.D. as in this first letter, dated 13 December 1657 A.D., Mirza Raja Jai Singh is directed that on reaching Allahabad he should not halt for more than three or four days there and that he should hasten towards Bihar to face Shuja who had arrived there from Bengal. The first letter, therefore, makes it clear that Prince Sulaiman Shukoh had started before 13 December 1657 and as such his appointment to the command of the army must have taken place some time prior to that date. There is a reference in this letter to a grant of Pargana Nawai⁷ to Maharaja in recognition of his services. Here is the true copy of the Persian letter which runs as follows:—

نیشان شاہی

هولقد

عَمَدَهُ دَاجِهَانِ زَمَانِ زَيْدَهُ اَرَادِي عَالَى شَانِ سَوْتَمَنِ الدُّولَهِ الْبَهِيَّهِ الْعَالَى
مَسَ شَاهِ السَّاطَّانَهُ السَّلَطَّانَهُ السَّامِيَّهُ سَزاَوَهُ اَعْطَانَهُ سَوْحَمَ بِهِكَوَانِ بِدَشَاهِي شَايِسَتَهُ
الْطَّافَ وَ مَكَارِمَ نَهَابِنِ رَاسِمَهُ اَهَى عَمَدَهُ لَصِكَ مِيرَزَهُ دَاهَهُ جِيَسَنَكَهُ بُوفُورَ تَوْهَهَاتَ
خَاصَ شَاهِهَهُ مَسَرَّهُ وَ مَهَنَّجَهُ كَشَهُ بِدَانَدَهُ كَهُ تَحْسِبُ الْحُكْمَ اَشْرَفُ اَقْدَسُ اَيْنَ
نَشَنَ وَالْشَّانَ صَدَهُ شَهُ وَ حُكْمَ جَهَنَّمَطَاعَ بَنَادِيَهُ مَوْ شَوَهُهُ بَعْدَ اَرَادِيَهُ
اَلَهُ اَرَادَ زَيَاَهُ بِهِ سَهَّهُ جَهَادَهُ دَوْ مَقَامَ زَكَرَهُ دَوَانَهُ پَيَهَشَهُ شَوَنَهُ وَ مَنَزَلَهُ بَنَذَلَهُ قَطَعَ
مَسَافَتَ زَمَدَهُ جَمَعَهُ بَرَخَتَ بِرَكَشَهُهُ کَهُ اَلَزَّ بَنَکَالَهُ بَهُ پَتَلَهُهُ اَمَدَهُ اَلَدَّ اَنْهَارَاَهُ زَدَهُ
بِرَلَونَهُ وَ چَنَانَ تَنَبِيَهَهُ وَ کَوَشَمَالَ نَمَایَهَهُ لَهُ دَبِيَکَهُ اَيَنَ چَدَمَينَ اَواَهَهُ بَاطَلَى دَوَ خَاطَرَ
اَنْهَارَاَهُ زَيَاَدَهُ دَرِينَ رَابِبَ بَنَدَکَانَ اَعْلَى حَضُورَتَ سَلِيمَهَانَ مَذَلَّاتَ تَأْكِيدَهُ بَسِيَارَهُ نَمَوَهُهُ
اَنَّدَ دَبِيَکَهُ زَرَوَهُ عَدَيَّتَ بِرَكَهُهُ نَوَائِيَهُ دَاهَهُ اَهَاهَهُ بَجَاهَهُهُانَ عَمَدَهُ الْمَلَكَهُ بَرَقِيَّهُهُ وَ
خَاضَهُهُ خَوَنَهُ دَاهَهُ عَلَيَّهَاتَ بِيَغَاهَاتَ مَاجَعَهُهُ دَارَنَدَهُ—

هَفَقَدَهُمْ دَبِيعَ الْأَوَّلِ سَلَهُ ١٠٤٨ نَشَانَ، وَالَّذِيَّهُ يَافَتَهُ

Its English translation would run as follows:—

“He is powerful

(the Imperial Nishan)

Distinguished among the Rajas of the time, cream of the Umrahs of high dignity, possessing the confidence of the high and godly state, counsellor of the great and traditional Sultanate, deserving the unlimited royal

5. (a) *Dara Shukoh* by Qanungo p. 173.

(b) “Some letters from Jaipur Records (Hindi) in Dr. Raghubir Singh's Library at Sitamau (Malwa)”, by Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashtha, Research Fellow, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute Patna, *vide* I.H.R.C. Frcgs. 1958, part 2, vol. XXXIV, p. 112.

6. *Dara Shukoh* by Qanungo, Vol. I, p. 167.

7. Pargana Nawai is in Sarkar Ranthambhor in the province of Ajmer *vide* page 280 of *Ain-i-Akbari* tr. by Jarrett and annotated by Sarkar 1949 Calcutta Ed.

favours and privileges apparent bounties and kindness, distinguished in the State (Umdat-ul-Mulk), Mirza Raja Jai Singh, having the pleasure and honour of possessing excessive royal attention, may know that, according to the orders of the noblest and the most sacred (Emperor Shah Jahan), this high Nishan is issued and the world-subduing order is emphasized that on reaching Allahabad halt should not be made there for more than three or four days and (that the army) should march stage by stage so that the unfortunate forces (of Shuja) which have come from Bengal to Patna should be beaten back and driven away. They should be punished in such a way that they may not again intend to repeat the wrong. To this matter the highest Majesty (Shah Jahan), as dignified as Solomon, attaches great importance. Further I have to inform that by way of favour Pargana Nawai⁸ has been obtained as an addition to the Jagir of the distinguished of the State (Umdat-ul-Mulk i.e. Mirza Raja Jai Singh). Rest assured in your heart of unlimited favour from me. The Nishan was written on the 17th Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1068 H."⁹

2. The second letter,¹⁰ written on behalf of Emperor Shah Jahan by Prince Dara, and addressed to Mirza Raja Jai Singh, is dated 1st of Rabi-us-Sani, (1068 H)¹¹. This letter was, therefore, written six and a half weeks before the battle of Bahadurpur. Prince Sulaiman Shukoh had been appointed to the command of the army before 13th December, 1657 A. D. and had already started by that time for the east. Dr. Qanungo states that Prince Sulaiman by his forced marches reached Banaras two weeks after his appointment. This, according to him, places his arrival sometime in the second week of January, 1658 A. D. But actually since he started before 13th December, the Prince must have reached Banaras by 27th December, 1657 A. D.

Thus the second letter¹² dated 27th December, 1657 A. D. in all probability was received by Jai Singh near Banaras. Since this letter bears reference to the fact that it reached Allahabad on 6th Rabi-us-Sani, 1068¹³ H., it would have been received by Mirza Raja Jai Singh some time after 1st January, 1658 A. D. In this letter Prince Dara on receiving a representation from Shuja, grants the latter's request

8. See f.n. 7.

9. See f. n. 4.

10. Jaipur Records Vol. 1 (Letters from the Mughal Courts 1645—1660 A. D. and 1712-13 A.D. pages 80-83)—Sarkar's collections.

11. 27 December 1657 A.D. *vide Indian Ephemeris* by L. D. S. Pillai (1600—1799 A.D.).

12. *Dara Shukoh* by Qanungo, Vol. 1, p. 170.

13. 1st January, 1658 A.D. *vide Indian Ephemeris* by L. D. S. Pillai (1600—1799 A.D.).

for retaining Monghyr on certain conditions. That this takes place before the battle of Bahadurpur is a new information not to be found in any of the historical works of the period like-Tarikh-i-Shah Shuja by Masoom, Aurang Nama-i-Haqiri, Aurang Nama by Aqil Khan Razi, Alamgir Nama by Mohammad Kazim, Maasir-i-Alamgiri by Saqi Mustaid Khan, Padshah Nama by Abdul Hamid Lahori and Muhammad Waris. Amal-1-Salah by Mohammad Salah Kambu, Shahjahan-nama by Qazwini, and Muntakhabul Lubab by Khafi Khan. Here is the true copy of the Persian letter which runs as follows:—

هو القادر

٦ دیمیع الشانو سنه ١٠٦٨

بمقام الله أباد وسید

عمدة داجهائی نامدار قدوة امراء عالی مقدار سزاوار الطف و مراحم نسایان
شایسته اعطاف مکارم بے پایانی موتمن الدولة البهیة العالیه مستشار السلطنة السدیه
السامیه مخلص خاص و معتقد با اختصاص دکن الخلافة میدزا راجه جیسندھ بوفور
مراحم جلیل شاهانه مسجد و مسنهج کش بدانند که درین ولا بتاییخ سلحنج دیمیع
الاول عراپیش برادر شاه شجاع که ازوی عجز و انکسار تمام نوشته ندامه، پنهانی
دران مدرج بود بخدمت اشرف اقدس اعلی و خدمت والای ما رسید ای چه بلندان
اعلی حضرت قبله و کعبه دوجهانی فرمودند که ملکیکر دا ما باون تکواهیم داد اما نظر
برین نموده که این خدمت اول فرزان اعز اوج مدد کام کار بود و او ملاحظه این لشکر
هلر اثر عظیم نموده بعجز و انکسار عراپیش فوستاده لذا همین قدر عجز واقعی نه
مصدر دیگر فتوحات کودد و ایسته بعرض مقدس وسانیدیم که چون برادر شاه شجاع
اظهار ندامت بسید، نمود ما از طوف خود از دوست و مهربانی ملکیکر، او
وامیکدازیم اما بشرط ایکه قاعده ملکیکر را خالی ساخته، جمعهوت و توبیخانه دانجا
نکذاب و خود و پیشوش هرگز بملکیکر نهایلند و سوی عاملان هیچکس دو ملتیکر و
در نواحی آن نیاشد و به عین معمون شان والاشان بدواوف شاه شجاع در جواب
عرضه داشت او نوشته شده یقین که ایتمعلی و عظیمه عظمی دانسته شوطها را قبول
خواهد نمود الحال باید که فرزند اقبال ملد برخوردار مژده پنهان شده و بخیریت
به آنجا رسیده بلدوست و ضبط و بسط صوبه بوائی نماید و حقیقت معسکر دا
تحقیق نموده عرضه ناشت نماید که بعد از سیدن خبر شخصی بهره چه مامود
کردد بعمل آرد—فره دیمیع الشانی تحریر یافت—

Its English rendering would run as follows:—

"He is Powerful

(The order) Reached Allahabad on 6th Rabi-us-Sani, 1068 H.¹⁴. Dignified among the noted Rajahs, distinguished among the powerful Umrahs, deserving kindness, apparent favours and unlimited bounties,

14. See f.n. 13.

possessing the confidence of the godly and sublime State and illustrious, traditional, and exalted sultanate, particularly sincere and faithful, pillar of the Caliphate, Mirza Raja Jai Singh, having the pleasure and delight of receiving great and excessive royal favours, may know that at this time on 1st of Rabi-ul-Awwal (1068 H.¹⁵), the petition of the brother Shah Shuja which he has written in all humility and submissiveness and which bore his immense repentance reached the noblest and the most pious Majesty and my high self. Although His Majesty, the Kabba of the two worlds, said that he would not give Monghyr to him (Shuja), but in view of the fact that since this is the first service rendered by the dearest, fortunate, and lucky son (Sulaiman Shukoh) and in consideration of the fact that he (Shuja), on seeing the great victorious army, had submitted petition in all humility and submissiveness and that this sort of humility opened the door for further conquest, I (Dara) told His Majesty (Emperor Shah Jahan) that since brother Shah Shuja has expressed his great repentance, I (Dara) myself, out of compassion and kindness, restore Monghyr to him on condition that he should vacate the fort of Monghyr and that he should not keep any force or artillery there, that his sons shall on no account come to Monghyr, and that none except his Amils shall ever come to Monghyr or its vicinity. The Nishan to this effect was written to Shah Shuja in reply to the latter's petition. It is believed that he would accept these conditions as a great boon. Now it is desirable that the fortunate and lucky son should proceed to Patna and on safely reaching there he should make arrangement for the proper administration of the Subah (Province) and make enquiry about the place of military encampment and report so that after the receipt of the finding everyone shall carry out the duties allotted. Written on the 1st of Rabi-us-Sant (1068 H¹⁶).”

3. The Third letter¹⁷, written on behalf of Emperor Shah Jahan by Prince Dara, is dated 12th of the month of Rabi-ul-Aakhir (1068 H.)¹⁸. This letter was, therefore, written five weeks before the battle of Bahadurpur. In this letter Maharaja Jai Singh is being instructed to proceed stage by stage to Patna and to give battle at Patna in case Shuja or his forces turn up there to resist. Here is a true copy of the Persian letter.

نشان دار اشکوہ

و القادر

۱۰۶۸ میں دیوبندی سے

عده راجہ ای نامدار قدر اسرائی عالی مقدار مودود اعطاف و مراحم پادشاهی
مطروح اعطاف و مکارم نا متناہی شاهی موتمن الدوّلة العلیہ مستشار السلطنة
السلطنه عدۃ لملک دکن الخلافة مختلف خیر ندیھن میرزا راجہ جھسکه بوفور

15. 27th Nov. 1657 A.D. *vide Indian Ephemeris* by L. D. S. Pillai (1600—1799 A.D.).

16. See f.n. 11.

17. Jaipur Records Vol. 1 (Letters from Mughal Courts, 1645—1660 A.D. and 1712-13 A.D. pp. 14—15) Sarkar's Collections.

18. 7th January, 1658 A.D. *vide Indian Ephemeris* by L. D. S. Fillai (1600- 1799 A.D.).

توجه مهربانی خاص مسرو و مهای کشته بدانند که عرض داشته که بخدمت والی فوجهای بودند و معالی عالی در امدها مخصوص بوضوح پیوست و عرض داشته که بحصه ای ارسال داشته بودند از بظار ایزو کذرا نیده شد و دیگر حقایق آنطرف بعرض مقدس رسید حکم شد که فوجها ارزیک سرمه به استنکی تمام ملول به این ایزیاد بروید اگر در پنجه نسیم بچشمک پیش آید جذک کنید که انشاد الله انتاج و نصرت و ظفر نصیب اولیائی دوامت قاهره خواهد شد و اگر شاه شجاع خود هم بیاید و برئی او نیز نعم شمیم حکم است که به ارامیدگی و فهمیدگی و تزویک و احیاط جذک خواهد کرد که بعد نیت ایزیاد کرد از کرده خود پیشیمان خواهد شد و فرمان عالی شان بنام دلیر خان هم صادر شد که خود را زود به آن لشکر ظفر پیدم ملحق کردند فقط با این دو از دهم ماه دیمیخ دوازدهم ماه دیمیخ آخر تخدیر بیافت -

Its English rendering would run as follows:—

"God is great.

He is Powerful.

Nishan of Dara Shukoh bearing the date 18th Rabi-us-Sani, 1068 H.¹⁹ Dignified among the noted Rajas and distinguished among the powerful Umarahs (nobles), the recipient of the Royal favours and kindness and having the privilege of enjoying the unlimited grace and bounties, possessing the confidence of the sublime state, counsel, pillar, prop and sincere well-wisher of the lofty and traditional Caliphate, Mirza Raja Jai Singh, having the pleasure and delight of getting the excessive and particular kindness, may know that the letter sent by you (Mirza Raja Jai Singh) has passed the perusal of the High and the exalted self (Dara) and its contents have become known, and the letter sent (by Mirza Raja) to the Emperor also would have passed His Majesty's (Emperor Shah Jahan) perusal. And other facts concerning that side have also been noticed by the sacred king. It is ordered that the army, after being well-equipped and well-arranged, be sent marching stage by stage to Patna. If in Patna anybody turns up to fight, you should give battle and, God willing, victory and success would attain the arms of the loyal imperial army. If Shah Shuja himself comes out, the same order would apply in his case also, and the battle should be then fought with ease, intelligence, caution and proper arrangement so that by His Grace he (Shuja) would be repenting of his action. An exalted farman has already been issued in the name of Diler Khan²⁰ that he should soon join the victorious army. Written on the date the 12th of the month of Rabi-ul-Aakhir (1068 H.²¹)."

19. 13th January, 1658 A.D. *Vide Indian Ephemeris* by L. D. S. Pillai (1600--1799 A.D.).

20. Diler Khan was a faithful Rohela Chief and was the Faujdar of Qanauj. See *Dara Shukoh* by Qanungo Vol. I. p. 171.

21. See f.n. 18.

4. The fourth letter,²² written on behalf of Emperor Shah Jahan by Prince Dara is dated 21 Rabi-us-Sani, 1068 H²³. This letter was, therefore, written four weeks before the battle of Bahadurpur. In this letter Mirza Raja Jai Singh is informed about the raising of the Mansab of Koklat Ujjainia²⁴.

Here is a true copy of the Persian letter:—

۲۰۶۸ شهود جمادی الاول سنه

هو القادر

بمقام بهادرپور دسید

زینه راجهای والا تھار صمدہ امری دفعیع مقدار مورث الطاف مراحم بیکران
بادشاھی مطرح عواطف و مکارم نمایاں نا منداھی موتمن الدولۃ العلیۃ لعاهه
مستھنار السلطانۃ البھیۃ مھرزا راجه چھوسلکه باضاف توجہ و مھربانی والی شاھی
مسروو و مھاھی بوده بداند که اعلیٰ حضرت خلافت موقبیت سلیمان مکانی
حسب التماس ما کوکلت اجیلهه را از اصل و اضافه به منصب هزاری ذات ۹
هشت صد سوار در افولنی بخشیده از پرکله پھرو و دنوار چاکیر موحّمت فرمودند و
درین ہاب نشان والا بدام کوکلت مذکور صادر کسے نزد آن دکن السلطانۃ فرستاده
شد از جانب خود نیز دلایی مشاواۃ نوشته با شان والا نزد او ارسال دارند فقط
بوسم و یکم دفعہ الثانی نوشته شد -

Its English rendering would run as follows:—

"He is Powerful.

(Order) reached Bahadurpur on 4 Jamadi-ul-Awwal, 1068 H²⁵. Cream of the Rajahs of high descent, distinguished among the Umrahs of high position, recipient of unlimited and infinite royal favours, bounties and apparent privileges, possessing the confidence of the sublime, high illustrious and godly state, Mirza Raja Jai Singh, having the pleasure and delight of receiving further royal attention and kindness, may know that His Majesty, the holder of the Caliphate and the Solomon of the time, has according to my request, raised the Mansab of Koklat Ujjainia²⁶ to 1,000

22. Jaipur Records Vol. I (Letters from Mughal Courts 1645—1660 A.D. and 1712-13 A.D.) Pp. 98—99 Sarkar's Collections.

23. 16th January, 1658 A.D. *vide Indian Ephemeris* by L. D. S. Pillai (1600—1799 A.D.).

24. Koklat Ujjainia has been written by Dr. Qanungo in his work on Dara Shukoh Vol. I. P. 171 as Goklat (Gokul?) Ujjainia (*i.e.* of the Dumraon Zamindar family).

25. 28th January, 1658 A.D. *vide Indian Ephemeris* by L. D. S. Pillai (1600—1799 A.D.)

26. See f.n. 24.

Zat and 800 Sawars and bestowed upon him the Jagirs in Parganas Piru and Danwar²⁷ and in this respect the high Nishan in favour of Koklat has been sent to the pillar of the State (Mirza Raja Jai Singh) so that he (Mirza Raja Jai Singh) may send the *farman* to the grantee (Koklat) with his (Mirza Raja's) own assurance. Written on 21st Rabi-us-Sani. (1068 H.²⁸)".

27. Piru and Danwar were Parganas in Sarkar Rohtas *vide Ain-i-Akbari* vol. II tr by Jarrett and annotated by Sarkar, p. 168, 1949 Calcutta edition.

28. See f.n. 23.



MUNTAKHAB-UL-INSHA AND INAYAT NAMA-I-NASAR: TWO LITTLE KNOWN COLLECTIONS OF LETTERS

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Miscellaneous collections of letters and books on the art of letter writing (Insha) need not be summarily dismissed as useless by a student of history for they often contain many isolated letters of historical importance, the originals of which are no longer available. Volumes, big and small, on letter writing and art of penmanship of which we have such a large number were produced by men of literary rather than historical tastes, their primary object being to teach the students rules of composition and various forms of epistolary phraseology. But fortunately they included in their collections many model letters, forms of official and legal documents, Farmans, Nishans, Parwanahs, Hasbul Hukms, Sanads, Akhams, Shuqqas, Arzdashts¹ which are found sometimes of much historical value. One need not bother oneself with the greater part of such collections comprising as they do private letters and letters written in conventional, highly ornate and verbose style, the reading whereof is so difficult and tiresome, but copies of correspondence between kings, princes, nobles and officials, diplomatic despatches, accounts of wars and victories and administrative orders, are well worth one's consideration. Some letters of historical importance are found in more than one letter-collection and sometimes one gets additional letters and replies relevant to their subject matter which are not easily available elsewhere. All this can be easily illustrated from the two manuals of letter-writing which form the subject of this paper.

Muntakhab-ul-Insha of Phulwari Sharif Khanqah Library bearing an endorsement on its fly-leaf of Hazrat Badruddin Qadri, a former revered Amir-i-Shariat of Bihar, was compiled as a text-book by an unnamed writer who, however, describes himself "as a son of Ahmad Hussain Khan and a grandson of Nawab Md. Ismael Quli Khan Bahadur". One of the 5 letters of his father, addressed to Mr. George Bloodstone, "Resident of Shahjahanabad", (Delhi) is dated 4th August 1790. His grandfather appears to have been a Bihar official of Nowab Ali Vardi Khan Mahabat

1. The un-named author of Muntakhab-ul-Insha has analysed the types of letters and the in names. Those addressed on behalf of kings are called Tauqi. Khitab, Farman, Manshur, and also Nishan, Parwanah, Shuqqa. The Turki equivalent for royal orders is Yarleegh, Tauqi, Khitab and Nishan bear the royal seal which is called Adrik (?). The red-coloured heading of the Farman is called Tughra. The letters written on behalf of the princes to their dependants are called Nishan and Misal. The Wazir and the high officials also issue Parwanah, Shuqqa, Fard. The subjects and dependants send Arzdashts to king and princes. The letters of superiors to inferiors are called Murasha, Mulahiza, Mufawizah, Multasa and those between equals are called Raqima, Namiqa, Maktub and Ruqqa.

Jung of Bengal, who in his letter addressed him as "Barkhurdar Saadat Atwar" (well-behaved, enjoying the fruits of life) which is an expression of endearment used by an elder for a younger relation or protege. In one of the 12 letters found in the Ms. before us the compiler's grandfather informs the Nawab of Bengal about the news received from the Vakils at Shahjahanabad that "the imperial troops had gained an upper hand over the forces of the Nawab Wazir"² and he requests for the sealed roll sheets about himself, his sons, Ahmad Hussain Khan, Jafar Ali Khan, Hadi Quli Khan, and also Hasan Raza Khan which were to be sent to the imperial metropolis for confirmation. In one of the Parwanahs Nawab Alivardi Khan directs Ismael Quli Khan, to look into the affairs of Dina and Bihari, Brahmins of Gangapur and redress their grievances and in another he refers to the report of Tilok Rai Harkara about the misappropriation by certain Zamindars (mentioned in a separate paper) of the wealth of the faithless rebels Md. (Murad?) Sher and Md. Sardar (Khan)³, and directs him to recover the whole of it and send the same to the court. Another letter refers to the Parwanah received regarding the case of the wife of Mir Wilayatullah, deceased, who claimed to have in her possession a Parwanah bearing the seal of "the martyred Nawab",⁴ granting village Dubhai in Parganah Saresa (North Bihar) in perpetuity (Muqarrari) on a 'Jama' of 751 rupees. The writer states what he considered to be the facts of the case, points out the difficulty of entertaining such cases lest it might encourage others and cause loss to the state, and suggests the advisability of calling upon the Vakil of the lady to produce the Sanad before Raja Ram Narain⁵. There is reference in one of the letters to the departure of Raja Janki Ram⁶ by way of river for Darbhanga and the writer's intended march towards that side to take charge of his Mahals. Obviously the compiler's grandfather was closely connected with the official life of Bihar in the mid-eighteenth century.

The second Ms. which belongs to the Patna University Library, is more voluminous (ff.223 as against ff.164 of the first), earlier in date, (1163AH/1749 A.D.) and of greater importance and it has been named "Inayat-

2. This refers to the civil war in Delhi between Safdar Jung and Ahmad Shah.

3. These were the Rohilla chiefs of Darbhanga. Mo. Murad Sher was the sister's son of Shamshir Khan and it is he who killed Sirajuddaula's father, Nawab Haibat Jung, the Governor of Bihar (1740-48), in his palace of 40 pillars. Sardar Khan Sur, a direct descendant of Ahmad Khan Sur who had fought against and had been defeated by Akbar had been an unwilling partner of Shamshir Khan and was killed along with him by Ali Vardi in a pitched fight in Bihar in 1748.

4. Nawab Haibat Jung whose once magnificent mausoleum can still be seen at Begampur (Patna).

5. He was a Diwan of Bihar under Janki Ram.

6. He was appointed to hold charge of Bihar Subah on behalf of Siraj ud daula as Naib Nazim in 1748. Janki Ram died at the end of 1751 and was succeeded by Raja Ram Narain as Naib Nazim of Bihar (1752--1761). See the writer's paper "Raja Ram Narain in Indian Historical Quarterly, 1938-39; Calcutta, Journal of Indian History, Madras, 1939,--"The Bengal Revolution of 1757 and Raja Ram Narain", Progs of Calcutta Session of Indian History Congress, 1940 "Raja Ram Narain and Shah Alam's invasion of Bihar etc.

"nama-i-Nasar" after himself by its compiler, Inayat Khan Rasikh⁷, a son of Nawab Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, entitled Shamsuddaula the well-known nobleman of Farrukhsiyar's and Muhammad Shah's courts. More than half of this ms. is covered by the selected letters of such acknowledged masters of ornate prose as Mirza Amina, Mirza Kazim, Mirza Munz Fitrat Musavi, Nasira-i-Hamadani, Mirza Muhammad Munshi and a host of Persian poets, physicians, litterateurs and these can be safely ignored by us. We may also leave out the first letter which is called Fatahnama-i-Babar Badshah sent after the conquest of Hindustan to the Hakim of Kabul which is said to have been taken from the Munshaat-i-Nizamuddin Ali Khalifa. As regards the letters written by, or to, the Timurids of India, from Humayun to Bahadur Shah and the latter's sons, Azim-us-Shan and Jahan Shah, we need not consider those which are found in other letter collections including Muntakhab-ul-Insha, referred to above. For example, in both the mss. before us we find the copies of the correspondence between the emperor Jahangir and Shah Abbas of Persia⁸, Humayun and Shah Tahmasp⁹, Aurangzeb and his rebellious son¹⁰, Akbar, Shah Jahan's letter to Mahabat Khan II(1658), Aurangzeb's letters to his father (1657), to Murad (1657), and to Wazir Jafar Khan (1657) and some others.

Both the mss. contain the interesting correspondence between Akbar and his foster brother, Khan-i-Azam Mirza Koka¹², the Governor of Gujarat, who being disgusted with the religious innovations in the court, had disobeyed the summons to come to the presence and had suddenly left for the holy cities in Hejaz with his 6 sons, 6 daughters and 100 attendants. The emperor felt sorry on seeing the grief of his foster mother, 'jiji', who had been left behind, and he wrote to Khan-i-Azam whose spirited reply¹³, not given by Abul Fazl, attracts our attention. The Mirza wrote that when he realized that his envious enemies had poisoned the mind of the emperor against him by their false accusations, he decided to separate himself from the "infidels of Hindustan". The emperor had hinted that he wanted to send the Mirza as an envoy to the Turkish Sultan. The Mirza replied that

7. He was the eldest of the 6 sons of Lutfullah Khan Sadiq. One of his brothers was Shakir Khan the author of another collection of letters. Another brother was Hedayatuila the father of the historian, Md. Ali Ansari, the author of Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, Bahr-ul-Muwaj, Talif-i-Muhammad etc.

8. See *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* tr. by Beveridge and Majma-ul Afkar.

9. Dr. Banerjee has translated the letter of Humayun but not of the Shah.

10. Also found in Maadan-ul-Insha. Sir J. N. Sarkar has translated the whole correspondence.

11. Many of these letters are also found in Majma-ul-Afkar, Adab-i-Alamgiri, Fayyaz ul-Qawanin etc.

12. The original of Akbar's letter was given by Abul Fazl in his Munshaat.

13. On the margin of the ms. Inayatnama, the reader's attention is drawn to what Abdul Qadir Badauni has written about the complete volte face shown by the Mirza on his return from Mecca. He had entered the fold of Din-i-Ilahi and had even performed Sijda'.

if he wished he could attain the rank of Azam Khan even in the court of the king of Rum "who ruled over the fourth part of the world", but he preferred to build a college in that land, name it after his former master, and engage himself there in religious discussion and poetical pursuits. After adding that he had left the coast clear for his foes and they could have all that they could not attain in his presence, he seeks the indulgence of the royal addressee for "some presumptuous observations". His enemies who had turned the emperor's mind from the faith of Muhammad were a set of flatterers and could never be his real friends. All the preceding kings were men of dignity and honour, and none had claimed prophethood for himself nor did any of them wish to obliterate the Islamic religion. The revered Book and the four Caliphs were not acceptable and miracles like that of the splitting of the moon were being denied. Men like Qulich Khan who gave an air of both inward and outward purity, Sadiq Khan, a former keeper of the dishes of Bairam Khan, and above all, Abul Fazl, who would rival Ali and Usman in bravery and virtues had the pretensions to take the place of "Chaharyar" (the 4 companions of the Prophet). The letter concludes thus:—"I swear by God and by the dust of the king that except Aziz (writer) none is the real seeker of your good name and that all others are self-seekers and flourish on flattery and deception. I, your slave, am your real well-wisher and till the end of my days will not utter a word against your good name and character. Whoever chose the path of opposition to the Prophes would never reach his destination." The difference between the grandees of your august assembly and me, your humble slave, lies in this that you, in your Farmans added the epithet of "Abul Ghazi" (the father of holy warriors) about myself, while others gave preference to the infidelity [infidels?] over the Musalmans. This fact will remain imprinted on the pages of time. What I considered as incumbent on myself is sincerity and affection and I have never spared myself in that."

The Phulwari Ms. contains many important things such as the letter¹⁴ of Akbar to Shahbaz Khan Kamboh, appointing him to the Government of Malwa, and detailing the duties he was expected to discharge, Akbar's Farman¹⁵ prohibiting the Abwabs or illegal cesses and unauthorised taxes, a letter of Shah Jahan to Aurangzeb sent from Kabul in 1639, that of the latter's to the former (1657), two Farmans of Aurangzeb to his son Prince Azam, another to Wazir Jafar Khan, sent after, and giving a short account of the battle of Dharmat, and calling upon him to persuade the emperor to accept his suggestion about sending "Dara Bhai" to Lahore so as to avoid further bloodshed. The letter of Aurangzeb to his brother Murad (1657), assured him that here would not be the slightest deviation from the agreements¹⁶ already made, and requested that the addressee

14. Probably taken from Munshaat-i-Abul Fazl compiled by Abdus Samad.

15. Also found in the Munshaat-i-Abul Fazal.

16. The text of this "Qaul-nama-i-Yakjehti" has been given by Rasikh in Inayat Nam

should remain firm in his resolve to keep up constant correspondence with him; he also informed him that the needs of caution and vigilance were so great that certain matters could not be penned down in usual letters, and, therefore, he had devised a specially set form of letter and sent it, and the addressee also should use a similarly invented code letter. The complete text of the Farman of Aurangzeb to Md. Hashim¹⁷, the Diwan of Gujarat, issued in 1079 (1669) and 33 out of 36 clauses of the Farman (given in *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*) of that emperor, dated 22 Jamadi I, 1075 (20 November 1665) prohibiting the illegal exactions and unauthorised oppressive practices¹⁸ of some officials in Gujarat are also found in *Munshaat-i-Insha*. These and many other letters, such as those of Shah Alam to Nawab Mir Qasim, and Muniruddaula, of Ali Ibrahim Khan to Prince Jahandar Shah, Asafauddaula, Raja Ran Bahadur of Nepal, Rani Gulab Kunwar of Banaras, Ahlaya Bai of Malwa, Nawab Mubarakuddaula and his Naib, Nawab Muzaffarjung, Saif Khan of Purneah etc. may be passed over. We may also leave out other isolated letters such as those of Nizamul Mulk, of Raja Bir Kishore to Lord Cornwallis, to Sarfarazuddaula M. Hasan Raza Khan, Haider Beg Khan, Ghulam Husain, the Patna historian and others. In one of his 2 letters to Shah Jahan, Ali Mardan Khan¹⁹ refers to his difficulty in getting good stone cutters for repair work in connection with the fort of the Rajputs, and in another, Bahadur Khan Rohilla, who was sent to help him in Qandahar campaigns, refers to his 500 valiant warriors who were sent under Baqar Khan, according to orders. Ibrahim Khan, the son of Ali Mardan Khan, who was appointed to the government of Afghanistan, writes in one of his letters to Bahadur Shah about 18 days cannonading between the royal troops and the Yusufzais who were 20,000 strong but were ultimately repulsed and in another he says that Malik Bhago, the leader of the Yusufzai Afghans who had submitted and met him at Attock on the 19th Rajab, was being sent to the court where he deserved to be favoured.

The Phulwari Manuscript also contains an interesting and quite new correspondence between Nur Jahan and Mahabat Khan. The latter addressed as "infamous or notorious fomenter of disturbances" was accused, on the basis of "popular rumours" of "plundering and ruining the places" where he stopped, and he was called upon to "desist from his bad deeds and evil actions" if he had love of his life, otherwise very shortly the "royal wrath would overtake him and transform the days of his existence into death and annihilation." He should not be "proud of the fact that treacherously exploiting the royal awe" he had overcome Asaf Khan²⁰. "Such things

17. Translated by Sir J. N. Sarkar in his *Mughal Administration*—4th Edition.

18. Sir J. N. Sarkar has taken the Abwab portion from *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, but the whole text is important.

19. This and the following letters, referred to in this para are found nowhere else.

20. See Dr. Beni Prasad's *Jahangir* for the flight of Nur Jahan's brother to Attock. Both Nur Jahan and Asaf Khan were powerless prisoners of Mahabat Khan at Kabul in 1626.

sometimes do happen and may be taken as abnormal." He should "discard the mentality of the Pharaohs, Nimrods and the Shaddads for ultimately repentance would be his lot." She adds "don't depend on the handful of the faithless malevolent boorish Sakwar (Rajputs) whom you have gathered around yourself. When I set my tigers on the hunt, how can the dogs maintain their stand and face them?.... You who live on the wages of iniquity and are faithless to the salt you have taken, should recall the time, when you were among the 'Ahadis' with only one horse in your possession. Fearing the fire of our anger you should seek safety in favours and come to kiss the threshold of the vastly numerous army, otherwise the 'Ahadis' getting our directions will in the twinkling of the eyes, destroy the army of the false, vain infidel."

While acknowledging the "angry letters", "the foremost captain and the ablest diplomat of the empire" wrote that whether he was of good or bad disposition and habits he never spared himself in the services of His Majesty, the "shadow of God". Those days may be recalled when with 80,000 intrepid warriors the valiant prince Md. Khurram Sultan²¹ had arrived like a furious elephant in the field of battle. If by the good fortune of the world conquering king, Mahabat the lion of the age, had not faced them, the army of the squint-eyed Khurasani soldiers would have been easily vanquished by that high-flying falcon. "It was after sometime that I arrived at the exalted court. You saw what turn to things I gave. Like a raging lion I entered the field and inflicted crushing defeat on the fox-like Rafizis² (Shias) in the very first attack. I seek the protection of God. Had I given up the procedure of checking them, my lion-hearted warriors would have taken Asaf Khan as a captive just as a pigeon is taken into its clutches by the falcon. Who saw that he could escape alive, if I had not spared his life? He could not raise his head till the days of resurrection from the whirlpool of destruction, if I had not let him off. Oh Begam Jiw, May you be in safety! Don't keep your heart off the truth, and render thanksgiving to the Creator. This is a time when everybody plays on his own harp."

The son of this Mahabat Khan (Zamana Beg) was Mirza Lahrasp called Mahabat Khan II. He was the recipient of a letter from Shah Jahan during the siege of the Agra Fort by Aurangzeb. It is one of those letters in Inayat Nama, the Patna University Ms., which have not been noticed by any one, and it speaks for itself. "Mahabat Khan of exalted dignity, the choicest of the sincerely faithful devoted ones, being assured of royal favours and attention may know what harm has been done to this durable kingdom during these discordant, unfavourable times, owing to the

21. For the revolt of the prince, future Shah Jahan, against his father, and the part played by Mahabat Khan in the affair, please see Dr. Beni Prasad's *Jahangir* and also Dr. Saxena's *Shah Jahan*.

22. As an orthodox Sunni Mussulman he was bitterly hostile to the Persians who were mostly Shias. Life sketch given in *Maasir-ul-Umara*.

malevolent Khorasanians²³ who rejoice in the misfortunes of others and what unbecoming and unworthy treatment has been and is being meted out to these unfortunate people. My oppressed son, Dara Shikoh, after his defeat marched towards Lahore. Much is expected at this juncture from a sincere devoted one like you who caring not for worldly things try to earn a good name. There is no one in this perishable world like you, Mahabat Khan II, the true son of Mahabat Khan I. Consequently I am disclosing my heart's grief to you and expect some reparation at your hands. When the Khorasanians had put Jannat Makani (Jahangir) in a tight corner, and had practically deprived him of powers, that lion of the field of battle, that is Mahabat Khan, advancing gradually, step by step, had succeeded in freeing that God-pardoned one from the clutches of those devilish people. Having kept him in his custody for a few days he restored him to the throne of the Kingdom and stabilized his position in the Caliphat. I, the humble one of the court of God, had also been brought out of the seclusion of obscurity and the valley of pain and grief and conducted to the imperial capital after the affair of that Heaven-abiding one. But the present affair has become more complicated and there is none except you who can be entrusted with the difficult task. My Dara Shikoh may have arrived at Lahore. There is no dearth of treasure at Lahore and as regards men and horses they are plentiful in Kabul. It is a pity that a leader like Shah Jahan is under the angry sight of the rejected one (Mardud) while there is one like Mahabat Khan who caused the world to shake. As soon as you of exalted dignity march towards Lahore with necessary equipments of war you will be able to inflict retribution upon both "Na Bar Khurdars"²⁴ and release the "Zindani" (imprisoned) Sahibqarani. You will see how a good name is much better than the treasures of Croesus and the ranks and position of this mean world. Such a task can be accomplished by you and mainly people like you do such things. I have written to my beloved son that he should entrust his affairs to you and in this lies the safety of his life and prosperity, and the release of this captive one also depends on this. This world is a place of disturbances and it has never been faithful to any one. A good name will remain imprinted on the pages of time. How can Mahabat Khan wish that the Sahibqaran should remain in prison and the man who has spread the net of deception (Aurangzeb) should sit on the throne and rule over the kingdom. If at such a juncture you, the excellent pillar of the kingdom, will demur from rendering help, tomorrow, or the day of Resurrection, my hands will catch you by your skirts."

Inayat Nama was not unknown to either Sarkar or Saxena, but neither considered it worthwhile to notice this letter which proves the partiality of the father for one and hostility towards another son. One, if so inclined,

23. Nur Jahan's Junta (Mostly Persians).

24. Aurangzeb and Mardud are meant.

can understand the case for Aurangzeb against his father, on the basis of the copies of the correspondence given by Rasikh in his collection. In a letter he writes, among other things, about the "reports frequently received of His Majesty's lack of consideration (Betawajjuhi-i-Ala Hazrat) towards him". He was convinced that H.M. "did not like him" and as a proof he referred to his "letters written in Hindi to Shah Shuja." Though matters had gone out of the hands of H.M., "efforts were still being made to place absolute power in the hands of the other fellow". In a letter to Shuja he was at one with him in suspecting the duplicity implicit in the moves for conciliation and accommodation, but advised him to keep up appearances. Replying at length to a letter of his father sent through Muatamid Khan he referred to his repeated requests to him to desist from writing exciting letters. As regards the references to his brothers, he could well retort by citing the case of Khusro Parwez who had died before H.M.'s accession and yet how they were remembered even though no harm could be expected from them. He had repeatedly assured the addressee that when he set out towards Allahabad the thought of rise and rebellion against the king of Islam never occurred to him. But during H.M.'s illness power had slipped out of his hands and the "elder prince" devoid of all hues of Islam had gained and exercised complete power and authority of sovereignty and had raised the banner of unbelief and heresy throughout the empire. Reason, law and equity made it incumbent on his zeal to make a move. First he turned towards those wicked infidels who had ruined and demolished mosques and erected idol temples on their sites and thus he had to fight against the heretics of despicable actions. "His Majesty had dubbed this disciple as a sinner and owing to excessive prejudice failed to see the needs of the faith and of the state and was seeking to bring the vanquished Pharaoh-like prince again on the scene with all his heresies." As for the remark that usurpation of others' properties was against Islam, it should be realised that treasures and properties of kings belonged to the public and were meant for the weal of the community and the country and was not an inheritance and that is the reason why there was no 'Zakat' over the same. A king was no better than a custodian.

That factors, personal and political, were mixed up with religious consideration is borne out by other letters. In his two letters to the Transoxianian Khawaja Abdul Ghaffar, given by Rasikh, Aurangzeb gives the accounts of his fight and victories against his brothers, Dara and Shuja and also their background. The religious motive that actuated him has been emphasised in the one and Shuja's ambition in not remaining content with Bengal and Bihar has been specially pointed out in the other.

Lack of space prevents the consideration of other letters, including the long Arzdasht of Rustam Khan Dakhini giving a detailed account of the wars and victories in Central Asia in 1059. Indeed, *Inayatnāñ-i-Nasār* of Rasikh deserves a more detailed notice.

THE GENESIS OF THE NEFA

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Evidences are not entirely lacking to show that a considerable portion of the territory at present known as the North-East Frontier Agency or NEFA, occupied by innumerable hill-tribes, formed in early times an integral part of the Kingdom of Kamarupa, and until the middle of the eighteenth century, was governed by a viceroy of the Ahom rulers of Assam, under the designation of the Sadiyakhowa Gohain. During the period of civil wars and insurrections in Upper Assam, which occurred in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Maomarias, a socio-religious sect, under their chief-tain the Barsenapati, set up a principality of their own in areas east of the river Buridihing. About the same time, the Khamtis, an offshoot of the Tai race, who had their settlements along the Noadihing, unfurled the standard of revolt against the ruling house and a Khamti chief usurping the name and jurisdiction of the Sadiyakhowa reduced his subjects to dependence and slavery; while the Singphos, another hill-tribe in the south-east, were also not slow to assert their complete independence under their respective Gaums (chiefs). The Burmese invasions, which followed soon after, afforded these predatory tribes further opportunities to fish in troubled waters; identifying themselves with the invaders, they carried out their ravages with fire and sword, plundering temples, laying waste the country and carrying off in batches the unfortunate inhabitants into slavery.

The threatening attitude of Ava, about 1823, and the consequent insecurity of the Eastern Frontier of Bengal drove the East India Company to interfere in the affairs of Assam, and the defence of the latter, subsequently, brought them face to face with the numerous tribes on the frontier. The authorities at Fort William were haunted, even after the expulsion of the Burmese from Assam, in early 1825, by the bogey of another war with Ava, and to repel it, therefore, they had to take all possible precautions. To meet such an emergency, Mr. Scott, the Agent of the Governor General on the North-East Frontier, felt the paramount necessity of bringing in the areas occupied by these tribes, particularly the Khamtis and the Singphos, under the British sphere of influence¹; otherwise what was the guarantee that these

1. On the authority of Yuan Chwang, the North Eastern boundary of the ancient kingdom of Kamarupa has been located by some scholars at the series of hills that has reached the confines of China, (*vide* Baruah, K. L., *The Early History of Kamarupa*, pp. 9-10

2. Secret and Political Consultations, Bengal, 20 May 1825, No. 24 ; Scott to Swinton, 30 April 1825.

vacillating tribes might not join the invader from the south at the earliest available opportunity and undo all that had been done. He was also actuated by a humanitarian motive—the emancipation of the Assamese captives³.

With these objects in view, Mr. Scott issued a series of instructions to Lieutenant Neufville, the officer commanding the troops in Eastern Assam, wherin we find the beginnings of the policy towards these hill tribes in the Assam frontier⁴. He was directed

(a) to obtain all available information as to the nature of the government of the chiefs of the Khamtis and the Singphos and their political connections with other tribes in that quarter;

(b) to offer every encouragement to the tribal chiefs to enter into engagement with the British Government upon the basis of releasing the Assamese captives taken since the expulsion of the Burmese from Assam;

(c) to procure hostages of one or two men of consequence from each tribe, as a security for the engagement made;

(d) to endeavour by grant of fixed annual stipends to some of the most influential chiefs under the cover of making use of them to defend the passes on the route to Ava or by similar means for the prevention of their depredations in the lowlands;

(e) to incur such expenses, as may be necessary, to make presents to the chiefs who may render services, voluntarily, in the aforesaid objectives.

The negotiations which Lieutenant Neufville conducted on the above lines with the tribal chiefs were crowned with great success. Within a year, over 5000 Assamese captives were liberated and a few months before the treaty of Yandaboo, 26 February 1826, the chiefs of the Moamarias, the Khamtis and as many as sixteen Gaums of the Singphos surrendered themselves to the British authorities. In view of their strained relations with the Assamese and with each other, it was considered expedient to place these tribes under the supervision of a European Officer stationed in or near Sadiya⁵. The agreements, which these chiefs entered into, separately, with Mr. Scott, the Agent to the Governor General, in May 1826, brought them virtually under the control of the British Government; although they were allowed local autonomy, they were debarred altogether from having any connection with the Burmese or any foreigner; they were to obey the orders of the British authorities, to supply secret intelligence, and to provide men and *rasad* in the event of hostilities occurring in that frontier⁶.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*; Scott to Neufville, 8 April 1825.

5. Secret and Political Consultations, Bengal, 7 March 1825, No. 4 ; Scott to Swinton
26 October 1827

6. Aitchison : *Treaties and Engagements etc.*, pp. 119—122.

The political and strategic importance of this extreme frontier so highly impressed the Governor General in Council that although they could not arrive at a final decision as to the future arrangements in Upper Assam, they unhesitatingly resolved⁷ that the frontier near about Sadiya, on security reasons, could not be relinquished and that a European Officer should be permanently stationed near the frontier. There could be hardly a better selection for the post than Captain Neufville (since promoted), who had by his protracted operations and continued negotiations, already acquired considerable experience and an intimate knowledge of the affairs of the hill-tribes in that frontier. He was appointed accordingly in March 1828, under the command and orders of the Agent to the Governor General, as the political Agent in Upper Assam on a salary of Rs. 600/- P.M. He was stationed at Biswanath, the headquarters of the local Regiment—the Assam Light Infantry⁸.

Captain Neufville thus occupied the same position as that of the present Adviser to the Governor of Assam, in the North-East Frontier Agency, and it was he who had laid down the foundation of the administrative principles of this region. "My local experience of the habits and character of the eastern tribes" he remarked, "may dictate a supposition that the inviolability of the rights and privileges, which they have obtained for themselves and of which we find them possessed, will be guaranteed to them without releasing them from the homage and nominal subserviency to their Sovereigns."⁹ Subject to the supply of a few contingents, tribal leaders were accordingly left free in their respective jurisdictions and were entirely exempted from taxation. As to the administration of civil justice, they were vested with the powers of inquiring into and deciding civil cases according to their former practices and were also authorized to try cases of theft not exceeding rupees fifty, beyond which the criminals were to be tried by the Political Agent, who was to visit Sadiya for the purpose, at fixed periods of the year¹⁰.

In the event of disputes and petty assaults occurring between members of the different tribes, they should be tried in the court of the chief in whose territory they might occur and Neufville laid down that every person entering a neighbouring district should be amenable to the law and the court of justice existing therein; although the aggrieved had the right of appeal through his own chief to the Political Agent, Upper Assam. But in "cases of felony punishable by death or loss of limb, as also piracies, robberies, arson and other offences", after having made the preliminary investigation,

7 Secret and Political Consultations, 7 March 1828, No. 8.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.* No. 6, Neufville to Scott, 23 December 1827

10 *Ibid.*

the chiefs were to transmit the papers and the parties concerned to a supreme court, instituted for the purpose, consisting of the Political Agent, an Assamese official of rank (a Gohain), and the chief in whose territory the crime was committed¹¹. Neufville also provided that the proceedings were to be submitted to the aforesaid chief and sentences were to be carried out under his orders. "This reference to his supreme power and the execution of the criminal law would retain a legitimate and effective form and, at the same time, preserve an appearance of respect for the due exercise of royal prerogatives."¹² The criminal jurisdiction thus guaranteed to a great extent the cherished rights of the tribal chief, preserving at the same time the prerogatives of the British Crown.

Captain Neufville realised that, without material benefits, the predatory habits of the frontier tribes could not be cured. He, therefore, formulated an elaborate scheme of commercial intercourse with the border tribes. Under Mr. C. A. Bruce, a mart was set up at Sadiya, where commodities of European and Indian manufacture were usually exchanged for ivory, gold, amber, musk, copper and Khamti daws; and it was anticipated, within a few years, the operations would be extended to Hukwang¹³. It had also been the object of the local authorities to utilize the genius of the tribal people in organising a local militia for the defence of this far eastern frontier. The experience of the last war with Ava made it evident that the climate of this frontier was so inhospitable to the up-country sepoys and so destructive to commissariat cattle that it rendered successful operation almost impossible against peoples adept in jungle warfare and not subjected to the same difficulties¹⁴. The contingents supplied by these chiefs were, therefore, equipped and trained under British officials¹⁵. For several years, the duties of guarding the frontier about Sadiya devolved on this militia, while "the role of the British party at Sadiya seems to have been to display the military might of the Company by bluff rather than action."

The Governor General in Council, on account of their imperfect knowledge of the nature of these hill-tribes, had no alternative but to approve the administrative arrangements made by the local authorities although they had great doubts as to some of the measures in the administration of criminal justice. They viewed with disfavour the undue interference on the part of the Political Agent in the local affairs of the tribes, which they feared viola-

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. Political Consultations, Bengal, 14 May, 1830; Nos. 29—30.

14. Secret and Political Consultations, Bengal, 27 June 1828, No. 115; Scott to Drirling, 7 April, 1828.

15. Pemberton, R. : *Eastern Frontier of British India*, pp. 76-77.

ted the stipulations entered into with some of the chiefs¹⁶. As a guiding principle, therefore, it was laid down that "the soundest policy in the management of these rude tribes (was) to vest a large share of responsibility in the hands of the natural chief and to direct our efforts, principally, to the maintenance of peace between the different communities and the experiment of a few and simple conditions of such engagements, as is indispensably necessary to impose on them".¹⁷ In the light of these instructions, the duties of the officer in charge of this frontier division were summarised, subsequently, by Captain Jenkins, the Agent to the Governor General, as follows:

"To preserve the tranquillity among the frontier tribes, to stimulate them to habits of peaceful industry, and to promote commerce; and whatever tends to improve the conditions of the neighbourhood will also contribute towards our ultimate designs in retaining the post of Sadiya, that of calling forth the resources on the spot for essential military operations and thus giving the full importance of its position, whether with a view to defend Assam from invaders or to make an attack upon Ava."¹⁸

16. Secret and Political Consultations, Bengal, 2 May 1828, No. 16.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Political Consultations, Bengal, 4 September 1834 Nos. 61-62.



**LETTER OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE
ABOUT 80 YEARS OLD**
SHRIDHAR BHASKAR BHAT
HONORARY SECRETARY

I. V. K¹ Rajwade Sanshodhan Mandal, Dhulia

Introductory:

1. The subject of this essay is a private letter dated 3 March 1880, written from London by Florence Nightingale to Shri S. H. Chiplonkar, Secretary of the famous Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona. The letter was presented to I. V. K. Rajawade Sanshodhan Mandal, Dhulia, by Mrs. Sulabhabai Kakatkar, through Shri V. M. Apte, B.A. LL.B., Advocate of Dhulia. Thus it finds its place in the Archives of the Institute.

Description of the Letter:

2. The name of Florence Nightingale is known all over the World and needs no introduction.

3. The letter is completely written and signed by her. It is written on note paper of bluish colour and at the edges of the note paper there are black stripes of about 1/8th inch width. The black stripes are there because she was in mourning on account of the death of her beloved mother. The letter is written on 3 note sheets. The full length of each is 10·3 inches and the breadth is 8·2 inches. The handwriting is fine and quite legible. However, the ink appears to have faded a little on account of efflux of time, which comes to about 80 years. The letter is written in simple language, and clarity, precision, restraint (a rare quality of the English character) and politeness are its special features.

Subject of the Letter: Indian Agriculturist

4. The Sarvajanik Sabha of Poona was publishing a quarterly journal, whereof the 1st number of Vol. II was forwarded to her by its Secretary with a letter. And on perusing this issue of the said Journal, she in reply addressed this letter. From the letter it can safely be concluded that her interests were not confined to the service of soldiers who suffered in the War, but she had deep and poignant feelings for the suffering humanity in general. But it has to be noted that she did not allow herself to be carried away by her feelings. She wanted her cause to stand on a purely rational basis. To support her cause she wanted facts—"actual narratives, giving names, date and place, of type individuals among them—that is, provided they are facts and not mere opinions—type facts too, and not exceptional ones." This clearly shows that she wanted to fight for justice pure and simple, unalloyed with any sentiment. She

wants full and accurate information about the Indian raiyats to be collected by the Association as such information is lacking. Advertising to peasant-landlord relations, she appears to be in favour of the continuance of the landlord class. By suggesting that it should be the aim of the landlord to prove that a peasant is better off as the tenant of an improving and intelligent landlord than as a proprietor who has to stand by himself, she shows herself as not in favour of the abolition of the landlord class. She deprecates excessive reliance on the Government for the improvement of the condition of the peasants. According to her the Sabha can inculcate a spirit of self-help among the cultivators and show them how to improve their cultivation and provide capital to enable them to do it.

Thus it will be seen that the author of this letter, interested as she was in aiding and helping the poor suffering agriculturists in India, wanted

- (1) that the agriculturist may be taught to improve his cultivation by actually showing how that could be done by diffusing knowledge of improved agriculture and practical methods of agriculture.
- (2) that it was essential to give them financial assistance.
- (3) that it was essential to dig wells and prepare approach roads to main roads to make the task of the agriculturists easier.
- (4) that the Indian agriculturists may therefore be informed, reformed and inspired by the educated classes in India.

National Importance :

5. That India is principally an agricultural country was well-known. But though Miss Nightingale lived far away from India and facts about the peasants of India were little known in England, she, with an unerring hand, laid her fingers on the factors that were proving the bane of the Indian peasant. Her letter is, therefore, of great national importance to us.

International Importance :

6. Another value of the letter is that it throws a new light on the life of Miss Nightingale. Known primarily as a hospital reformer, she shines here on account of her broad humanitarianism.

The text of the letter is given below:—

Private:

London, March 3, 1880

Sir,

I am under the deepest obligation to you for your making known to me your "Quarterly Journal" of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha whose labours

on behalf of the Deccan are so great because it writes on subjects to me of the strongest interest.

I have carefully marked the 1st No. of Vol. II, which is that you kindly sent me. And I will now subscribe at Trubner's in London, in order to have the advantage of regular perusal of the back Nos., as well as the current ones, of the "Quarterly Journal". I expect to find in it many facts which I am constantly in search of especially as concerns the daily life of the cultivators who are "Dumb", who have no voice. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of giving a voice to these of publishing facts concerning the Raiyats : actual narratives, giving names, date and place, of Type individuals among them—that is, provided they are facts and not mere opinions—type facts too and not exceptional ones. The facts collected, to be of any value, must be, it need scarcely be said, truly typical and not exceptional. Induction from single instances is a kind of reasoning too much in favour everywhere, but more particularly among the natives of India, is it not? To pick our facts to support our arguments and views is destructive, in your opinion I am sure as in ours, of all progress, all hope of right conclusion and righteous action.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the Sarvajanik Sabha, provided it is really a representative Association, an Institution representing the many, the peasant-cultivators, as well as the few, the gentleman landlords, and the money-lending and trading classes.

To give telling facts with chapter and verse is truly worth a whole bushel of opinions.

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In Europe where almost every body comparatively, reads and writes (excepting in Russia and a few other backward countries), and where it has been quite the fashion, for 30 or 40 years, for popular novelists of the highest class, like Dickens and amongst women, like Miss March, (a true narrative writer, not a novelist) and Hesba Stretton, to give vivid accounts, taken from personal observation, of type individuals among the working classes, it is still hard enough to get true facts concerning the daily life of certain classes in our midst :—how much more so to put the life of the Indian raiyat almost wholly unknown to 999 out of every 1,000 here before the English public accurately and fully.

This is one of the services we want of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. It has already been done in some measure by, amongst others, the "Deccan Raiyats Commission" which gave its facts with name, place and date and narratives of individual type-cases. But hitherto it has been the fault of nearly all Reports that they have been too vague, too general, too wanting in individual and precise information—too opiniony.

2. Possibly there might be yet another thing in which, if your kindness will pardon my venturing a suggestion, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, so well known for its activity, might be of incalculable use.

In England, as need hardly be said, a land-owner does much in improving the soil:—is it the case that as a rule in India the landlord does nothing, the cultivator everything?

The estates of gentlemen landlords ought to be centres and nuclei of improvement, examples to the much larger extent of land held by peasant proprietors. Should it not be landlord's aim to prove that a peasant is better off as the tenant of an improving and intelligent landlord than as a proprietor who has to stand by himself? But as rule does the gentleman-landlord make a few or no wells or roads? Are there roads in India besides main roads made by Government? Work and intelligence are what is wanted. For so important an institution as your Sarvajanik Sabha, would it be possible to supply so important a want as that of militating or promoting two things so much needed as, you implicitly tell us, are the following :

1. to show the cultivator how to improve his cultivation.
2. capital to enable him to do it.

As a rule, peasant proprietorship must be without capital.

In the rocky Deccan how great the benefit, if the gentlemen-landlords advanced money to their people to make wells or made walls for them and the same with roads where needed—if they diffused information on the best practicable methods of agriculture instead of leaving it all to Government to do : which in the first place is impossible—for how can Government 'do' Schoolmaster to millions of men? And in the second place you don't want to leave it to Government—you want the educated classes of the country, in India as elsewhere, to take the noble task which God assigns them of being fathers and educators to their own people, who are their poor and ignorant children.

If these two things were done, might not they in themselves effect an almost unlimited improvement in the condition of the poor Deccan Cultivator? ('I speak as a fool' : but you yourself are wise). If the Deccan cultivator had more skill in cultivating, if he were more thrifty and less extravagant that is, he is thrifty but if he were wiser and better educated—if the money lending class would lend money—not for weddings, but for improving the land at a fair rate of interest—might perchance all this effect

a grand reform in the condition of the Deccan Raiyat—and might the Sarvajanik Sabha have a grand noble share in this noble object?

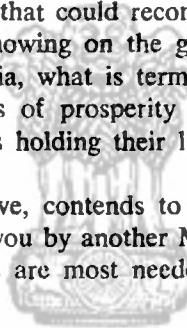
A people cannot really be helped except thro' themselves. A people must be informed, re-formed, inspired thro' themselves.

A people is its own soil and its own water. Others may plant, but it must grow its own produce. As well might corn be grown without soil and without water as prosperity and knowledge be grown without the people's minds being the cultivated soil for the noble crops.

The results of the 'Permanent Settlement' in a sister Presidency have been so far from satisfactory, whether as regards agricultural backwardness or the grinding poverty of the raiyats that it hardly holds out a promising example for such a system to be tried in Western India as creating a landlord class and making all the peasantry their tenants.

But were there any thing that could recommend such a measure . . ., [it would] be the practical showing on the ground that the few gentleman landlords are in Western India, what is termed 'improving' landlords and that their tenants are models of prosperity and Agricultural progress, as compared with the cultivators holding their lands direct from Government.

And this no one, I believe, contends to be the case, I may perhaps request the privilege to send you by another Mail some few of the questions on which accurate statements are most needed to enlighten public opinion here.


In the meantime may I again try to express what indeed I cannot express how deep is my interest in the subjects which you advocate nor mine alone but that of an ever increasing number here in England but we want the interest of [of all England and India] the Empire.

I cannot apologize for having been so long in answering your letter for no apology is enough. The severe pressure of illness and overwork have been mine for 23 years (excuse my excuses). But this last half year, ending with the death of my beloved mother, scarcely can come again.

Pray believe me, Sir.

Ever the raiyats and your faithful Servant.

Florence Nightingale.

THREAT OF MARATHA INVASION OF PATNA IN 1738, PLIGHT OF EUROPEAN MERCHANTS

DR. SUKUMAR BHATTACHARYA

University Grants Commission, New Delhi

In the first half of the eighteenth century the Mughal Empire was in a process of disintegration. In the subah of Bengal, however, the strong hands of Murshid Kuli Khan (1717—27) and his successors maintained law and order and generally ensured internal peace. Except for the ravages of the Mugs in the eastern areas and the fear of Maratha invasions from the west the province as a whole had a comparatively peaceful existence in the first four decades of the century. It was during this period that the foreign merchants, particularly the English, the French and the Dutch, were carrying on a flourishing trade in their factories in the different parts of the province. But they became nervous at the slightest threat of any possible disturbance in their commercial pursuits. The rumour of an invasion of Patna in 1738 by the Marathas who had then encamped near Banaras almost led the European merchants to wind up their factories at Patna and move down the Ganges to their settlements in Bengal.

In April 1738 the English were much agitated at the news of the advance of the Marathas towards Patna. Humfrey Cole, the Chief of the Patna factory, in his letter dated 5 April 1738 informed the Fort William Council in Calcutta that there were strong reports that the *ganims*, as the Marathas were then termed, had passed Banaras, which so intimidated the *sarafs* and businessmen in Patna that the English had difficulty in realising their dues, and their remittance to Kasimbazar fell short by Rs. 40,000¹. Even Alivardi Khan, the deputy nawab at Patna, and other high dignitaries were reported to be in utmost consternation and the daily reports of plunder left no room to doubt the truth of the report of the march of the Marathas eastwards to Patna. The English at Patna were, however, determined to protect their factory and its effects there. But in view of the precarious local situation they requested that a party of one hundred soldiers might be sent from Calcutta to Patna with the utmost expedition to protect the Company's property. The Council at Fort William decided to get ready 100 men under the command of Captain John Lloyd and to despatch the party immediately to Patna. The Council also wrote to the factory at Kasimbazar to arrange for the boats and other conveniences necessary for the transport of the party by river to Patna. A sum of Rs. 10,000 was advanced to the Bakshi towards the pay and diet money and other supplies necessary for the Patna party.

1. Bengal Public Consultations, Vol XIII, 1738, pp. 102-03 : 13 April 1738.

The French also were no less panicky at the threat of a Maratha invasion of Patna. Monsieur Dupleix, the Director of the French Council at Chandernagore, wrote a letter to the Fort William Council in Calcutta proposing that the forces of the English, French and Dutch factories at Patna might offer a unified resistance to the invaders². He also wrote to the Dutch Company on the matter. Dupleix wanted that the alliance formed by the Chiefs of the three European trading communities at Patna might be strengthened by specifying "That *one nation* shall be obliged to protect and secure with all their forces the persons and effects of the others against the violence of the Marathoes."³

The English in Calcutta replied that in case the French and the Dutch would send to Patna the same number of European forces as those sent by the English or if each of them were willing to contribute an equal amount of the expenses along with the English towards the defence of the city the Council at Fort William would readily sign the agreement "That *each nation* shall be obliged to protect and secure with all their forces the persons and effects of the others against the violence of the Marathoes."⁴

But the idea of the joint defence of Patna by the three European trading factories did not materialize. In reply to the English proposal of equal contribution of men or money by the three settlements at Patna, Dupleix wrote that neither the French nor the Dutch could think of sending so large a detachment from their garrison as they only desired to secure a retreat. Nonetheless, they preferred that the alliance of the three Chiefs of the Patna factories for mutual protection might be maintained⁵.

Cole, the Chief of the English factory at Patna, was not in favour of a retreat by the English⁶. News came from Delhi that the vakil of the Peshwa Baji Rao I was stipulating with the Emperor⁷ for three million rupees for sparing a Maratha attack on Patna⁸. As the chance of an immediate attack on Patna lessened, the English decided that they should not agree to a joint flight with the French and the Dutch unless the latter bore an equal proportion of the expenses for the purpose⁹. Eventually, however, the Marathas did not proceed towards Bihar on this occasion and the danger was warded off. But the despatch of one hundred soldiers from Fort William to Patna was of considerable help in keeping up the morale of the business community there.

A similar threat by the Marathas on Patna in 1740 had more serious consequences. But that is another story.

2. Bengal Public Consultations, 30 July 1738.
3. Bengal Public Consultations, 7 July 1738.
4. Bengal Public Consultations, 31 July 1738.
5. Bengal Public Consultations, 7 August 1738.
6. Bengal Public Consultations, 31 August 1738.
7. Muhammad Shah (1719-1748).
8. Bengal Public Consultations, 20 September 1738.
9. Idem, 20 September 1738.
10. Bengal Public Consultations, 9 and 26 May 1740.

THE HISTORY OF TELIAGARHI AND MADHUBAN

K. K. BASU

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Teliagarhi and Madhuban formed two old Zamindaris whose history could be traced as far back as the days of the Mughal rule in India. The former, once a pargana (or a district), is situated within the jurisdiction of Sahebgunj, a sub-division of the Santal Parganas, having its headquarters at Dumka. The latter, a *tappa*, a revenue unit smaller than a pargana, is situated to the west of the former and was once under Pargana Colgong, in the District of Bhagalpur. In area (as given by Capt. Sherwill¹) 14·71 sq. Miles, Teliagarhi formed a narrow strip of land lying on the south of the river Ganges and contained a stone fort having an area² of 9412 acres and built in a dense jungle upon the spur of the neighbouring hills. The ruins of the said fort, built by the Muhammadan Zamindars, meet the eyes of those who travel by train via Teliagarhi and remind them of its past history. Madhuban, once belonging to the Zamindars of Teliagarhi, had no special feature of its own, excepting its dense forests and impenetrable mountainous tracts accessible only to its uncivilized indigenous people.

The revenue records concerning Teliagarhi bearing *Tauzi No. 407* etc., are to be found in Revenue Record Office, Rajmahal and those of *Tappa* Madhuban having *Tauzi No. 295* in the Collector's record room, Bhagalpur; they throw light on the interesting history of the two aforesaid old estates.

The present paper is mainly based on certified copies of the following documents:

1. The petition dated Bhagalpur, 4 March, 1940 to His Excellency the Governor of Bihar, made by Kunwar Muhammad Barqat Hussain, alias Abul Barqat Hussain, son of Raja Gulab Buksh, of Masjid Khanqa Asanandpur in the town of Bhagalpur.
2. Letter of Muhammad Barqat Hussain dated Bhagalpur, 24 July 1940 to the Collector of Bhagalpur.
3. Report of the Record Keeper, Collectorate, Bhagalpur, dated 5 August 1940.

1. *Geographical and Statistical Report of the Dist. of Bhagalpur.*
2. *Ibid.*

In his petition to the Governor of Bihar, Muhammad Barqat Hussain submits: that he comes from the family of Raja Roushan Bakht and Rani Anardai and Rani Permehswari (who were the grand-father and grandmothers of the petitioner) of Teliagarhi estate (*Raj Reyasat*) of Rajmahal, Santal Parganas, police station Sahebgunj, in the sub-division of Rajmahal, Dist. Dumka; that at the time of Cleveland, Collector of Bhagalpur, the properties of the ancestor of the petitioner without any reason was taken by the then Collector; that the petitioner being in straitened circumstances requests the Governor to pass orders to release the properties from attachment.

In support of the heredity claimed by him the petitioner appended a genealogical table of the Teliagarhi Raj family.

It may, however, be said that the request of the petitioner was not accepted by the Government.

The letter of Muhammad Barqat Hussain (24-7-40) addressed to the Collector, Bhagalpur mentions: that the Lakeraj jagirs of Pargana Teliagarhi, (bearing *Tauzi No. 43* etc. in Purnea Collectorate Record Room) and Pargana Colgong, *Tappa Madhuban* were given to his ancestor Raja Roshan Bakht for the purpose of helping the imams, mendicants, and the poor and for the maintenance of the recipient, that he had applied for a copy of the sanad concerning the Lakeraj jagirs, but a copy of the sanad was not found in the Record Room of Bhagalpur; that he had obtained from the Collectorate Record Room (*Tauzi No. 295*) a certified copy of the *patta* of Pargana Colgong, *Tappa Madhuban* granted to Raja Roshan Bakht, dated 1202 *Fasli* or 1803 A.D., giving some idea that the jagirs were his ancestral property; that he enclosed a copy of the *patta* which was in Persian with an English translation of the same; that the Collector would be kind enough to recommend his pitiable case to Government for setting aside the said attachment order and restore the said jagirs to the petitioner.

The Record Keeper, Bhagalpur Collectorate Record Room, in his report, furnished the early history of the estate of Raja Roshan Bakht, Zamindar *Tappa Madhuban*, Pargana Colgong, which he could gather from the papers of the estate bundle, *Tauzi No. 295*.

We first take into consideration the history of the estate of Raja Roshan Bakht as furnished by the Record Keeper, and then turn to the English translation of the *patta* of Pargana Colgong, *Tappa Madhuban*, bearing *Tauzi No. 295* and finally to the genealogical table of the Rajas of Teliagarhi, supplied by Kunwar Muhammed Barqat Hussain in his petition to the Governor of Bihar, dated 4th March 1940.

HISTORY OF THE ESTATE OF RAJA ROSHAN BAKHT

In course of his punitive campaign to Bengal for suppressing a revolt, Raja Man Singh, the Mughal General, reached Rajmahal, where he met Ranbhim Singh Choudhury and Sarmat Singh Choudhury, two brothers, who had come forward for the purpose of offering their services to him. Being pleased with the offer of faithful services, the Raja gave his promise to confer on them some estate.

Soon after, the turn of events proved favourable to the said brothers. Raja Dario Sahu living in the valley of Zilla Jalkari proved himself recalcitrant and hindered the safe progress of the Raja to Bengal. Ranbhim and Sarmat immediately came to the relief of the Imperial General and forced the refractory Raja to beat a hasty retreat to the fastnesses leaving his assets in the hands of the victors.

On his return to Rajmahal attended by Ranbhim and Sarmat, Raja Man Singh, according to his promise, conferred the estate of Garhi³ left by Dario Sahu on Ranbhim, who held the estate from 1008 to 1023 *Fasli*. Ranbhim died in 1023 *Fasli* and was succeeded by his son Jagat Singh, who held the Zamindary till 1051 *Fasli*, when he was succeeded by Udhoo Singh, his son. Udhoo was ordered to attend the court of Emperor Shah Jehan (1627—1659 A.D.) and on being told that the estate could only remain under him if he embraced Muhammadanism, Udhoo embraced Islam, when he was renamed Daulat Khan, and given the title of Raja. Having held the Zamindary for more than two decades Udhoo died in 1073 F.S. and was succeeded by his son, Qutub Singh. The latter died in 1083 F.S. and was succeeded by Bakhtiar Singh, his son, who held the tenure under Emperor Aurangzeb (1658—1707). After having held the Zamindary for twenty-two years Bakhtiar was succeeded by his son, Balban Bakht, who remained till 1144 F.S. After Balban, came Firoz Bakht, who continued till 1149 F.S., but having died without any male issue, the legacy went to Bhikam Singh, a descendant of Sarmat, the brother of Ranbhim, who had accompanied Raja Man Singh to Bengal. This happened during the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719—1748). Like Udhoo Singh, Bhikam visited the Imperial Court, and being induced by the Emperor to embrace Islam was renamed Raja Bakarwarman Khan. The new Raja held the estate till 1170 F.S. (reign of Emperor Ahmad Shah, 1748—1754), and was succeeded by Raja Roushan Bakht during the time of Nawab Jafar Ali Khan of Bengal under Shah Alam II (1759—1806). Raja Roushan having died in 1206 F.S. after the enjoyment of the tenure for about thirty-six years was succeeded by Raja Jaswant Bakht during the days of the East India Company.

3. Became known as Teliagarhi as the grantee belonged to the Tili caste. (Sutherland's Report 1815).

Nothing can be stated as to when and how the estate of Raja Roshan Bakht had been resumed or attached during the years 1179—1185 F.S. In a *patta* executed in favour of the East India Company, the Raja admits of his having taken a temporary settlement of the estate from the year 1202 to 1206 F.S. at an annual *juma* of *Sicca* rupees 15082-14-16 gandas of the then current coin. On his having failed to pay up the revenue in time, the estate was sold to the East India Company for Rupee one on 30 September 1799 corresponding to 16 Aswin 1207 *Fasli*⁴. After the sale the estate used to be leased out temporarily by the Company and this arrangement of leasing out continued till 1221 *Fasli* or 1813 A.D. The same year the estate was sold to Mir Abbas Ali by the Company for the same amount of Rupee one, on condition that he should pay to the Company a sum of Rs. 3,550/- as malguzari every year with effect from 1221 *Fasli*. From one of the papers it is presumed that Abbas Ali was succeeded by his son Mir Abid Ali. After this no definite paper is available to prove who succeeded Abid Ali, as the mutation papers have since been destroyed.

From the list of papers of the estate bundle it appears that there were mutation records in the name of Bibi Piyari Begum, Sayid Mehdi Hussain (dated 1-8-74 and 19-9-74), Bibi Umda Begum (dated 1876) and so on.

Register A (prepared in the year 1884-85) commences with the name of Bibi Umda Begum who, as it appears from Register D of *Tauzi* No. 295, was the wife of Mehdi Hussain.

In 1940 the proprietors of the estate were Grant and Sayed Mohsin Reza of Golaghat, Bhagalpur. (5-8-1940).

सत्यमेव जयते

KABULIYAT OF RAJA ROSHAN BAKHT

The readers will find below extracts from the English translation of the *Kabuliyat* or the agreement made by Raja Roshan Bakht, the Zamindar of *Tappa* Madhuban, Pargana Colgong (within the jurisdiction of the District of Bhagalpur under the administration of Monghyr in the Province of Bihar) with the E.I. Company.

(1) "As the Government revenue, excepting the realisation from hat, market and *sacrat* (miscellaneous income) and also excluding *Lakheraj* lands with or without sanads, amounts to Rs. 15082—14—16 gandas and was settled for the years 1202 *Fasli* to 1206 *Fasli*, so I admit and write to pay the same amount according to instalment fixed without any objection."

2. "I undertake to realise from the tenants according to market rate so that the current coin of the province be current in the *tappa*."

4. Sold to Gossain Brahm Das—(Sutherland's *Report*, 1815).

3. "I undertake not to make any objection to the payment of the same on the grounds of famine, flood, non-realisation, absconding or anything else. And all the deficits will be borne by me, the executant."

4. "And in the case of full realisation of the instalments month by month I will deposit them with the officer in charge of the treasury."

* * * * *

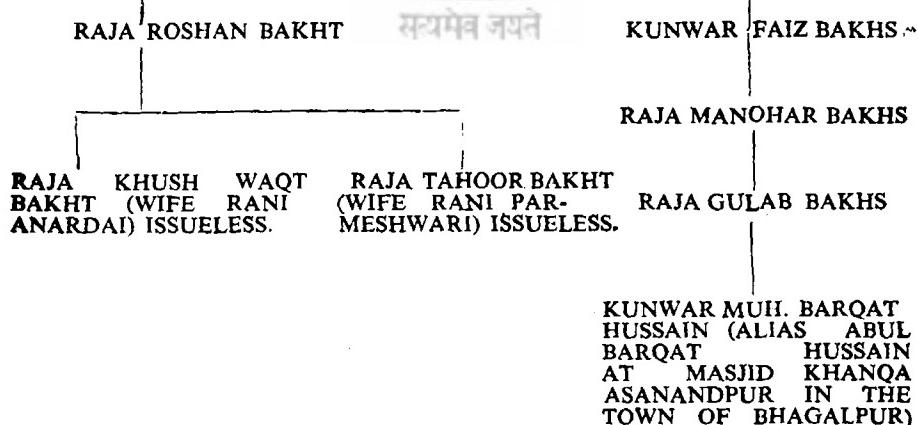
5. "And will keep watch over the main roads of the fronts of the newly inhabited area, so that, the incomers and outgoers may come and go peacefully and I will not give abode to robbers on my fronts."

6. "I will not realise more money from the raiyats and the tenure-holders and will not be at enmity with them. And will not dispossess them during the continuity of the *patta* and so long as they keep on with the terms. And whatever money the raiyats' will pay will be noted in the register."

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF RAJA ROSHAN BAKHT

RAJA BIROJ BAND



INDIANS IN ANCIENT ARMENIA

BY G. BONGARD-LEVIN

Research-Worker, Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences

It is widely known that close trade and cultural contacts existed between Indians and Armenians in the Middle Ages. But there are few who know that already in the 1st century A.D., Indians had a colony of their own on the territory of the ancient state of Armenia.

At that time Armenia was a big and mighty Power, one of the major states in anterior Asia. She maintained close relations not only with neighbouring Parthia and the Roman Empire, but also with India and China. In order to promote relations with these countries, Armenian kings founded new cities on the trade routes passing through Armenia and leading from Parthia and Bactria to India and China. Thus appeared the cities of Artashat and Tigranoakert, which soon became big Armenian trading centres. There were undoubtedly quite a few Indians among those who migrated to Armenia in those ancient times. We have some interesting information about one of these migrations.

Two Indian princes, apparently dissatisfied with the administration of a foreign ruler, tried to engineer a plot against him and raise a rebellion. But the ruler came to know of this, and sent his troops against the rebels, with orders to kill the conspirators or expel them from the country. The princes, together with their clan, were forced to leave their homeland. After long wanderings they reached Armenia, where they were hospitably received by King Vagarshak, who ruled the country at that time. The King granted the settlers the area of Taron, and they founded a city there. After coming to Armenia, Indians continued to worship their old deities which retained the same names as in the home country. The images of these deities were installed in the city of Ashtishat, Armenia's religious centre.

Fifteen years, after their arrival in Armenia, both Indian princes died, and King Vagarshak divided the lands granted to them among their three sons: Kouar (Indian Kuar), Meghts (Indian Mahto), and Horian. Each prince founded a city of his own, giving it his name. The Indian colony in Taron, with its customs and social structure, existed for several centuries.

The "History of Taron," a book by Zenob Glak, one of the ancient Armenian historians, throws light on this ancient Indian colony. At present, there exists only the Armenian translation of this work, originally written in the Syrian language. Zenob Glak lived at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century A.D. and was one of the close associates of Archbishop Gregory, the "Enlightener," who very actively and often forcibly spread Christianity in Armenia, encountering sometimes armed resistance in certain parts of the country. Gregory came up against a particularly stubborn resistance in the area of Taron, the inhabitants of which did not want to relinquish the faith of their ancestors. And when Gregory arrived with troops and tried to turn by force the people to the new faith, they took up arms. More than a thousand people perished in the fierce battle that followed. The High Priest of the colony and his son, both direct descendants of the first settlers, fell in the battle fighting valiantly. After gaining a victory, Gregory ordered that the ancient temples of Taron be destroyed along with their images of gods. In spite of persuasion and threats, many inhabitants of Taron refused to accept the new faith and were forced to quit the city. They migrated to the area of Paitakaran, situated on the territory of contemporary Azerbaijan. The part of the population, which remained in Taron and was forced to embrace Christianity, continued to perform secretly the religious rites of their forefathers. For instance, they made their children wear long hair, as was the custom of their ancestors. In his work, Zenob constantly emphasizes that this custom was a distinguishing feature of the faith of the Indian settlers in Taron. The images of one of their main gods also had long hair, done in a special manner. This custom of wearing long hair was closely connected with certain religious notions, and was from ancient times followed by certain Indian tribes. Megasthenes, the Greek historian who had visited ancient India during the rule of Chandragupta Maurya, wrote in his work "Indika" that many Indians wore long hair "in honour of a god." This custom has been retained up to the present time by certain castes and peoples of India, which regard the wearing of long hair as a sacred tradition.

On the basis of the information about the deities, worshipped in Taron, and the analysis of their names, recorded by Zenob in a somewhat distorted form, scholars came to the conclusion that these deities were evidently Indian gods, Devamitra and Krishna. The settlers of Taron, apparently, were also snake-worshippers. The first city, built by the Indians in Taron, was called "Snake" ("Vishai" in Armenian). Compare this name with the name of the Indian town Nagpur.

These and some other data confirm the assumption that the Indians who had migrated to Armenia were, apparently, natives of central India and perhaps the southern part of the Indus Valley.

The information supplied by Zenob is confirmed by the researches of Soviet historians and archaeologists which show that already in ancient times there existed cultural and trade relations between India and Armenia.

This is also corroborated by other ancient authors. Thus, some interesting information is furnished by Xenophon, the Greek historian, who wrote that already in the sixth century B.C., Armenians and the neighbouring Khaldians (inhabitants of the ancient kingdom of Urartu in Transcaucasia) often travelled to India and even served in the armies of Indian kings.

More definite information on India's relations with Transcaucasian countries is contained in works belonging to the first century A.D. A work called "The Tour of Pontus Euxinus" (Black Sea) says that the people of India and Bactria used to come to the city of Fazis (situated on the territory of what is now the Georgian SSR). We know of two trade routes that led from India to the countries of West Transcaucasia. One of these went through Central Asia, the Caspian Sea, and then along the Kura River. Academician Manandyan, the eminent Soviet historian, proved in his researches that the land route through Atropaten (contemporary Azerbaijan) and the major cities of Armenia (including Artashat, the ancient Armenian capital) was just as important. Thus, information supplied by a number of ancient authors, describing India's contacts with Transcaucasia, as well as researches of modern scholars who investigated the question of trade relations in ancient times, indicate that there were regular trade relations of long standing between India and ancient Armenia. It can be seen that the Indians, who founded the colony in Taron, came to Armenia along a trade route well known in India.

IMPERIAL GRANTS OF LAND CONCERNING THE SANCTUARY OF MAKHDUM MAJDU'D-DIN HAJJI, DELHI

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Six original Persian documents¹ in the form of Farmans, Sanads and Chaknama, which are on display in the gallery of the Central Museum, Lahore, concern grant of cultivable land to the sanctuary of Makhdum Majdu'd-Din Hajji at Delhi. I understand that they have escaped scholars' notice and have not been published so far. Before I would describe these documents, I feel it necessary to trace here the history of the personage, in whose honour they had been issued by the Mughal Emperors (from Akbar to Muhammad Shah), so that their real historical value may be ascertained.

Shaikh Abdul Haq of Delhi (d. 1052H/1642 A.D.) mentions in his *Akhbar al-Akhyar* that "Whatever accounts of the mystics he has studied, he could not find in them any notice of Maulana Majdu'd-Din Haji. But he has heard from some learned persons that he was a great Shaikh—a mystic and a disciple of Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrwardi (d. 632H/1234 A.D.) in the Suhrwardi Order of Mysticism. He had performed twelve pilgrimages to Mecca and came to Delhi during the reign of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish (d. 633/1234), who offered him the job of the *Sadr* of his kingdom in religious matters. Though he was not willing to accept it yet he reluctantly held it for two years. During this period of two years he administered the state affairs quite satisfactorily. He devised rules and regulations and thus established law and order in the country. After that period he requested the Emperor to relieve him of the duties of the *Sadr* and appoint some one else in his stead. The Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish granted his request and he was relieved of his duties. He always preferred the society of sufis of his time, such as Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar-Kaki Ushi, Qazi Hamidu'd-Din Nagauri, Qazi Sa'du'd-Din, Qazi Minhaj-i-Siraj, Qazi I'mad, Sayyid Mubarak Ghaznawi and others, who were deeply interested in *Sma'*—hearing of mystic songs. He died at Delhi on 12th Zil-Hijja year 640 A.H./1242 A.D. and was buried within the precincts of the shrine of Khwaja Qutbu'd-Din Bakhtiyar-Kaki Uski. During the days of the celebration of the Id'u'l-Azha which are called the *Ayyam al Tashriq*, the days of distribu-

1. I am grateful to Mr. Shamsu'd-Din Malik, Curator of the Central Museum, Lahore who very kindly allowed me to study these documents in the museum. He also assured that they have not so far been published. Many years ago they were presented to this museum by one Qazi Muhammad Saeed of Mahrauli, Delhi.

tion of meat in the name of God, the public of the Delhi town used to assemble at his sanctuary and this assembly was called the Khatm-i-Majd Hajji—the ceremonial feast of Majd Hajji.”²

Five out of the six documents clearly mention that the grant of the cultivable land was made out of the *pargana*—(tahsil) of Jhajjhar, which, according to Abu'l-Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari*³, was in the Delhi sub-province and within the same *sarkar* (district), having a majority of Afghans and Jats in its population. It lies thirty five miles west of Delhi and twenty one south of Rohtak. It was founded in 1193 when Delhi was conquered by Musalmans. In the reign of Sultan Nasiru'd-Din Mahmud (1258), son of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din Iltutmish, it was held by Malik Nusrat Khan, Khan-i-A'zam, along with Tabarhinda, Sunam and Lakhwal. This *pargana* continued in the *sarkar* of Delhi until the 19th century, when it became a separate state along with the petty states of Pataudi, Loharu, Dujana, etc., simultaneously with Lord Lake's advance on Delhi and victory over and pursuit of the Marathas. In 1857 the reigning Nawab Abdu'r-Rahman Khan of Jhajjhar revolted and was condemned to death by the British, his state being confiscated to the British Government, and becoming a *tahsil* of the Rohtak District.⁴ The sixth document, which is named as the *Chaknama*—deed, clarifies that the granted land within the *pargana* Jhajjhar was actually granted from the *mauza*—village Ghakkhar-Jahangirpur which even to this day exist in the Jhajjhar *tahsil* of Rohtak District.⁵

These documents are of medium size, say about 15 x 8 inches. They bear all the necessary signs of authenticity. They are mutilated with the result that the text is missing in some places. Some one has got them carelessly repaired, pasting pieces of paper on them and covering up the *ta'liqas* (abstracts) and details of the grants from the revenue departments. I have, however, tried to describe them below in their chronological order confining to their main historical purport. The reference of the museum's record is also given.

(1) No. 04736. The *farman* of Akbar bearing the impression of his round seal with his insignia “Jalalu'd-Din Muhammad Akbar Badshah

Akbhar al-Akhyar—by Shaikh Abdul Haq of Delhi, Delhi Ed. of Mujtabai Press p. 49; *Azkar i-Abra* by Maulana Ghausi, Agra, 1326 A., p. 44; *Mirat-i-Asbab Numa* M.S. in my own library. These two sources mention that Maulana Majdu'd-Din Hajji belonged to Jajaren a town between Nishapur, Juwain and Jurjan; and *Kuliyat Jadwallia Fi Ahwal-i-Aulilya—Tuhfatu'l Abrar*, Delhi, 1324 A. H. Pt. iv., p. 34, under account Sufiwardiya Shaikhs.

3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Calcutta, 1868, pp. 318, 368.

4. *Tarikh-i-Jhajjhar* by Munshi Ghulam Nabi, Tahsildar, published in 1866 and the *Gazetteer of District Rohtak*, 1910.

5. *Tarikh-i-Jhajjhar*, p. 309.

Ghazi 967 A.H.". This *farman*—mandate, which begins with Akbar's name as noted in the insignia, is in a very bad condition, and in some places it has lost its text. The text is written in the very classical style of the *khat-i-divani*. These drawbacks have made it impossible to give its full text as well as its literal translation. However, the main purport of the *farman* is given here.

It records that a tract of cultivable land equal to one thousand bighas is granted for the maintenance of *Mujawirs*—attendants of the sacred shrine of Makhdum Majdu'd-Din Hajji (?). They have inherited it from their predecessors and they are authorised to collect the proceeds thereof from year to year. Formerly this grant was of seven hundred bighas of land. The officers of the Revenue Department are instructed to act accordingly. The mandate is dated 20th *Muharram* 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.). The grant of land is made out of the *pargana* Jhajjhar in the Delhi sarkar.

(2) No. 04737. The *farman* of Emperor Shahjahan bears on its right top corner his square seal impression, with his insignia in the central circle, which is surrounded by nine smaller circles, each bearing the name of one of the Emperor's forefathers in direct line right up to Timur. Just on the left of this seal is the *tughra* in vermilion having the insignia of the Emperor:—

"Farman of Abu'l Muzaffar Shihabu'd-Din Muhammad Sahib-i-Qiran Thani Shahjahan Badshah Ghazi."

The text of the *farman* is in fairly good *nasta'ilq* style but it is defective in many places, because it has been very badly repaired. It records that a tract of land equal to six hundred and twenty one bighas and five biswahs out of the *pargana* Jhajjhar within the *sarkar* of Delhi is allotted for the maintenance of the attendants and upkeep of the shrine of Makhdum Majdu'd-Din Hajji. In accordance with the old practice, the attendants are authorised to take over the proceeds of the land from year to year and the officers of the Revenue Department would know that no change should occur therein. The last part of the *farman* bearing the date etc. of its issue is missing.

(3) No. 04738. This is the *sanad* of the above *farman* of Shahjahan which was issued by the *Sadr* of the province. It bears on its right top corner the seal of Afzal Khan. It begins thus:

Sahib-i-Quran Thani Zillu'e-Allah Subhani (Shahjahan).

It clearly mentions that this *sanad* belongs to Shahjahan's Revenue Department. It is in good condition and it also enables us to fix the exact date of the *farman* of Shahjahan (described under No. 2). It relates that the land-

holders and land officers of the present and future are informed that since in accordance with the royal *farman* a tract of cultivable land equal to seven hundred bighas, which according to the *gaz-i-Ilahi* becomes equal to six hundred and twenty one bighas and five biswahs, is granted for the maintenance of the attendants and upkeep of the shrine of Makhdum Majdu'd-Din Hajji, on 27th *Sharewar Mah Ilahi*, 8th regnal year in continuation of the old orders, it is strictly notified that this grant of land should not be changed in any case. There is no need of its renewal from year to year.

(4) No. 04739. This *sanad*, which is issued during the 29th regnal year, is the renewal or confirmation of the same grant of Shahjahan's reign. It relates that the officers of the Revenue Department of the present and future should know that from the *pargana* of Jhajjhar which is in the province and *sarkar* of Delhi, a tract of land equal to six hundred and twenty one bighas and five biswahs, is granted for the maintenance of the attendants and upkeep of the shrine of Makhdum Majdu'd-Din Hajji, in accordance with the old order, which was made during the 8th regnal year. It is remarked that the same grant of land within the same *pargana* must continue. On the margin of this *sanad* the official entry is dated 27th *Jumada al-awwal*, 29th regnal year (1655 A.D.).

(5) No. 04740. This *sanad* is also addressed to the revenue officers asking them that in accordance with the Royal *farman* of the 8th regnal year of Shahjahan's reign, the land out of *pargana* Jhajjhar equal to six hundred and twenty one bighas and five biswahs for the maintenance of the attendants and upkeep of the shrine of Makhdum Majdu'd-Din Hajji was allotted. The proceeds of this piece of land should carefully be watched and be given to them from year to year, so that there would be no change in the practice. It is dated 26th Rajab year 1093 A.H. 1682 A.D. (of Aurangzeb's reign).

(6) No. 04743. This *Chaknama* bears the heading: In favour of Hazrat Makhdum Maulana Majdu'd-Din Hajji's shrine.

From: Firdaus Ashiyan Roshanu'd-Dawla Bahadur Zafar Jang. His proper name was Zafar Khan, a nobleman of the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah. He was governor of Delhi. He is the founder of the Sonehri Masjid at Delhi, built in 1134 A.H./1722 A.D. He also founded the college called the Masjid of Roshanu'd-Dawla, situated in the Kaziwara at Delhi. This is the college from the roof of which Nadir Shah gave orders to slaughter the inhabitants of Delhi. He died in the 14th regnal year of Emperor Muhammad Shah (1149 A.H./1738 A.D.).

This *Chaknama* clarifies that a tract of cultivable land equal to six hundred and twenty one bighas and five biswahs, which was granted for the maintenance of the attendants and upkeep of the shrine of Makhdum Majdu'd-Din Hajji, in accordance with the Royal *farman*, has been restored, following the Parwana of His Excellency the Nawab (Roshanu'd-Dawla Zafar Jang Bahadur) for the same shrine out of the *mauza* village Bhakkharpur(?)—Jahangirpur. This allotted tract of land is equal to six hundred and ninety eight bighas and eight tassu, because it is mixed with other land.

The text of the parwana also bears the names of the *Gumashtas* and *Qunungos* (Land Revenue Officers):—Abdur' Rahman, Radha Kishan, Abdulla Chawdhri, Muhammad Bakhtiyar, Jairam brother of Salwadas, Fath Muhammad, Muhammad, Mahmud and Yusuf, who very carefully checked the allotment of land from the said village, for the maintenance of attendants and upkeep of the shrine. Moreover, there are three witnesses noted on the right margin:—Duni Chand Qanungo, Badan Singh Qanungo, and Bakhtiyar Chawdhri. At the bottom there are two seals, one is of Radha Kishan Suhail-1134 A.H. and the other is very dim. The total land is marked in Persian figures: ('998') being measured with *Gaz-i-Ilahi*.

This parwana or sanad was ordered on 2nd Zil-Hijja 5th regnal year (1136 A.H./1723 A.D.) and ratified in the official record in the 1131 Fasli era on the occasion of Fasli-i-Kharif.

The actual location of the land is only clarified in the last document, the *Chaknama*. It was actually out of the *mauza* Jahangirpur in the *pargana* or *tahsil* of Jhajjhar which is at present in the Rohtak District. This *Chaknama* was issued during the fifth regnal year of Emperor Muhammad Shah by Nawab Roshanu'd-Dawla Zafar Jang in 1723, the then governor of Delhi.

We have also seen from these documents that such grants made from time to time can effect change in the exact location of the land, as this rests with the Revenue Department. But if they are once made permanent, they are bound to prove eternal grants. Moreover, the actual dimension of the land also depended upon the current dimension of measurements. This is the reason that sometimes the number of bighas varied in the subsequent period.

A MUTINY PAPER OF MIRZA BIRJIS QADIR RAMZAN ALI BAHADUR

NANDALAL CHATTERJI

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Lucknow*

I have recently come across a mutiny paper which is extremely interesting. The paper is dated 1273 A. H. (1857 A. D.) and is translated into English for the convenience of the readers. It is a petition of Army Officers of Lucknow and of orders of Nawab Birjis Qadir thereon. This shows the connection of the Army Officers with the Mughal Government of Delhi.

1. A petition of the Army Officers for appointment of His Majesty (Birjis Qadir) for the governance of this country would be submitted to the Emperor of Delhi. It is expected that His Majesty's hereditary claims and the request of the most faithful petitioners would receive a favourable consideration.

Order.—Have faith in His Majesty's favours.

2. The increment, promotion and the rank of Officers of our Army may be determined according to the rules and regulations of the Army of the Emperor of Delhi.

Order.—Granted. In fact titles and honour would be in addition.

3. The gratuity and relief to all the officers and soldiers killed and wounded may kindly be sanctioned on the lines of Delhi army.

Order.—Sanctioned.

4. Besides the present army which is engaged in warfare, if further recruitment is desired, the officers for that army may be chosen from among us.

Order.—Those who are competent and capable of giving training would surely be appointed.

5. Our salaries and allowances like the salaries and allowances of the Delhi army may be sanctioned from the beginning of the month of Ramzan, 1273 A. H. (April 1857).

Order.—It should be done.

6. The officers who may be appointed in this Kingdom should be honest and men of integrity, not cruel to the subjects.

Order.—Gladly accepted. It has been the tradition and shall continue to be so.

7. Every officer of the army may be supplied with a copy of the petition after having been signed and sealed.

Order.—Would be done, rest assured. :)

PETITIONERS

1. Shiv Din Singh, Subedar, (Signed in Hindi).
2. Ghamandi Singh, Sub., Nizamat Platoon Regt. II (Signed in Hindi).
3. Nepal Singh, Sub., Regt. III.
4. Shujat Ali, Sub., Regt., Nadiri Battn.
5. Bhawanidin Singh, Sub., Akhtari Platoon (Signed in Hindi).
6. Umrao Singh, Sub., Barlow Sahib Platoon (Signed in Hindi).
7. Raghunandan Singh, Sub. (Signed in Hindi).
8. Salig Ram, Sub., Ballam Ter Platoon (Signed in Hindi).
9. Raghunath Singh, Sub-Major, Regt. II (Signed in Hindi).
10. Wajid Ali Khan, Risaldar, Regt. I, Hindustan Sawars, Colonelganj Cantt.
11. Aman Beg, Risaldar, Regt. I, Hindustan Sawars, Colonelganj Cantt.
12. Mahabali Singh, Sub., Magness Platoon (Signed in Hindi).
13. Saadullah Khan, Risaldar, Regt. XV.
14. Mohd. Saaduddin Khan, Risaldar, Regt. XV.
15. Debi Singh, Sub., Regt. X.
16. Thakur Singh, Sub-Major, Regt. III.
17. Sd. Barkat Ahmad, Risaldar, Regt. X, Hindustan Sawars.
18. Sd. Makhdoom Baksh, Sub., Commanding Officer, Regt. VII.
19. Shaikh Bahadur Ali, Commanding Officer, Regt. No. I.
20. Dhani Ram, Commanding Officer.
21. Imam Baksh, Sub-Major, Civil Battalion.

CHARACTER OF THE WAHABI MOVEMENT

P. N. CHOPRA

Compiler, Gazetteer Unit, Ministry of Scientific Research & Cultural Affairs, New Delhi

The Wahabi Movement and the history of its struggle for over half a century (1820—1870) with the avowed object of driving out the British from India is fairly well known. Started originally by Syed Ahmad of Rai Bareilly with the object of introducing certain social and religious reforms among the Muhammadans of India, it soon developed into a religio-political creed which aimed at first at the annihilation of the Sikh rulers in Punjab and then of the British power in India. The organisation built up for the purpose, the secrecy with which they carried out their operations, the absolute fidelity which its members maintained amongst one another have elicited praise even from its opponents. It speaks volumes for the organising skill of the leaders of the movement that a Bengali young man marched nearly 2,000 miles across the wide provinces of the north west and the Punjab where in every village his physical appearance and language stamped him out as a foreigner to the frontier camp in perfect safety. William Hunter in his book *The Indian Mussalmans* and the contemporary articles in *Calcutta Review* as well as the Government records have fully preserved the details of the organisation which, it is agreed, was far more methodical than the revolt of 1857. It is, however, the character of the movement which has remained a highly controversial issue. The discovery of certain records helps us to throw a fresh light on this important aspect.

Divergent views have been expressed on the character of the Wahabi Movement. Some regard it as an agitation confined to some fanatical Muhammadans who wanted to restore the Muslim rule while there are others who would look upon it as a struggle for the freedom of their country from the rule of the foreigners. Discovery of certain records helps us to judge the movement in its proper perspective. There is no denying the fact that in its early days the Wahabi Movement was a purely religious one confined to a section of the Muslim community, particularly the lower middle class.¹ As a religious creed it did not attract much following, especially after the death of its founder Syed Ahmad, and might not have long survived but for the political character it assumed in the meanwhile. It was primarily due to its political role that the movement enlisted sympathics and even the active support of the general Muhammadan populace. "It is in districts like Maldah and Backergunj," wrote Reilly, Police Officer on Special Duty for the trial of Wahabis, "where the Mohammadan ryots

1. *Modern Islam in India*, p. 162.

are rich that they find time to indulge in fanaticism and here the movement also assumes a political aspect".² A perusal of the various State trials held to convict the Wahabi leaders will be quite revealing in this respect. Among the convicted persons we find representatives of every rank of Muhammadan society, priests of the highest family, wealthy merchants, preachers, soldiers and persons belonging to the lower strata of the society, viz., butchers, scavengers, etc. As peasantry forms nine-tenths of the population of India, naturally the majority of the following of any movement must come from that class and the Wahabi movement was no exception.

It is true that the Hindus in general were suspicious of the motives and character of the movement, particularly in its earlier stages when it was directed against the Sikh rulers and proclaimed religious *jehads*. But later on, particularly after the extinction of the Sikh State when the movement became increasingly political and was turned against the British rulers, non-Muslims seemed to have taken some interest in it. It is interesting to quote in this connection a Persian verse which the late Maulana Azad came across while going through a manuscript in the India Office Library:

جذگ ما با فرنگو بود - زد با مروجہ دراول بھنگی بود

Whatever the authenticity of the verse, it is clear on the basis of a fresh perusal of records that the Wahabi movement, though sectarian, never came into conflict with the Hindus after the extinction of the Sikh State. Even in their earlier risings around Calcutta in 1831 they had raided and looted the houses of Hindu and Muslim land-holders without any distinction³. There is even some evidence in the contemporary records to the effect that some Hindus were arrested and detained for their pro-Wahabi activities⁴. Neither fear of punishment nor promise of reward or release could induce them to appear as prosecution witnesses. It became immensely difficult for the British Police Officers to unearth the conspiracy and to find witnesses to depose against these workers who, to quote Reilly, were so "popular and held in such great esteem that men were unwilling to testify to any of their seditious acts."⁵ There were very few who betrayed and they were silently yet completely boycotted by their co-religionists. Many such instances have been quoted in contemporary records of the period. Mir Ahmad Ali, the Patna Hakim, for instance, who was unscrupulous enough to help the police in the investigations found no alternative but to beg the Government to employ him as a Sub-Inspector of Police to save him from starvation⁶. Abdullah, an agent of the Wahabi

2. Proc. Home Judl. September-December, 1872; p. 3261.

3. Hunter, *Indian Mussalmans* p. 109. Hunter, *Modern Islam in India* p. 161.

4. Proc. Home Judl. January 13, 1872. pp. 28-30.

5. Proc. Home Judl. Sept.-Dec. 1872. p. 3261.

6. *Ibid.*

leader Hushmadad Khan, could only be induced to give evidence when offered some job as otherwise he was sure to "lose his present employment and would not be trusted by any other native and consequently he would come to grief and his family would be ruined for want of food". The general public had become quite sympathetic as the British Government in spite of its best endeavours, persuasion and intimidation found it impossible to sell the property of the convicted persons⁷. The police officer, Okinelay, laments in his report that with "great difficulty certain perishable articles of personal property—could only be disposed of at very inadequate prices".⁸

Native soldiers were also not immune from Wahabi influence and many of them became its close adherents. The Wahabi preachers were fully conscious of the importance of the army for their political objective and made strenuous efforts to win them over in an endeavour to throw off the British rulers. The records abound with the activities of these missionaries attempting to preach sedition among the native regiments.

The movement was not confined to Bengal, Bihar, Punjab and N.W.F.P. as had been believed so far. In the Deccan the people were stirred to such a pitch of enthusiasm that women are said to have sold their jewels and devoted the proceeds to support the movement. The nature of the tax levied as *Mutthia* or a handful of rice for each member of the family at every meal, *Kurbani Ka Chamra* or sale proceeds of the hides of beasts killed during *Bakr Id* besides *zakat* and other customary levies help to show the popularity of the movement among the Muhammadans⁹.

7. Proc. Home Judl. Sept. 27, 1865, pp. 70—74.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Proc. Home Judl. Sept.-Dec. 1872, pp. 322—326.

MUTINY AND TITLES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BIHAR

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I have come across several unpublished documents in the Central Archives, Patna, which deal with conferment of titles on various types of people, who helped the British Government in suppressing the revolt of 1857. The discussion which took place in 1858 shows that the revolt of 1857 was important in many ways. The British Government became conscious of the vital need of a loyal class to help them at critical moments and with this object in view they bestowed titles on certain people as a reward for their loyal services, in the hope that others might demonstrate their loyalty as a means of earning such titles. In other words, they wanted to make the bestowal of titles an "engine of power" to the Government.

The discussion on the subject started on the 2nd June 1958, in a letter of Dr. E. G. Balfour, Government Agent at Chepak and Paymaster of Carnatic Stipends, to T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras. He wrote, "On searching the Sircar Records, I find that since the 31st July 1801, the date of accession of the Nawab Azeem-ood-Dowlah Bahadoor, there have been 890 titles distributed by that Nawab and his successors, amongst 704 persons." They were conferred on all sections of people. In addition to these titles certain badges and emblems of different types of honour and rank were also distributed such as (1) Palkee Sada (Plain Palanquin), (2) Palkee Thallasdar (Mogaley Palanquin), (3) Chowur (Chowree of feathers), (4) Chutree (Umbrella), (5) Pesh Kuz (Dagger), (6) Siphon (Shield).

The importance of the bestowal of titles was recognised not only by the Mughals and Indian princes but also by the British Government. "We know the full value of Orders of honorary distinction, for we have seen them so long before our eyes in Europe, and see so many of our countrymen decorated with them here, that the estimation in which they are held is quite familiar to us. We have also, by the formal Act of the Government of India, in establishing the Order of British India and Order of Merit seen that Government recognized the fact that the natives of these countries are susceptible of being influenced by the desire of distinction . . . this desire is great, if not greater, than that what influences ourselves."¹

1. Balfour to Pycraft, Letter No. 987, dated the 2nd June 1958.

Certain distinctions were, in fact, bestowed by the British Government in India, but due to certain restrictions governing their bestowal, full advantage could not be taken of them. These Orders were, for example, not bestowed on Englishmen and their exclusive character disappointed them. "In such matters as it is, it is not what is bestowed, but the motives for, and the associates in the bestowal, by which the value of the gift is estimated and proper selecting is alone required. I feel assured it will be allowed, that as a body of men, there is no government which had ever fewer sluggards, and no rulers have ever had so many earnest men, as amongst the Englishmen serving the Indian Government, and I know that the proudest amongst them would feel honoured, if he were recognized by the State as having been of use to India, and were granted either of the two Orders of British India (which are bestowed exclusively on Natives), in token of the state's recognition of his merits."²

The Order of British India and the Order of merit were conferred only on Indians serving in the army and due to their exclusive military character they never yielded the result for which they were introduced. The following paragraph pointing out the defects of the existing system of conferring titles is significant.

"By the Statutes, the Military only and even of this class of our servants, only the Native Soldiery are eligible to be elected Members of the two Orders. And though this is the case, it must be admitted that the Native soldiery are not the only servants of the State who best earn claims to distinction, and so to restrict admission into the Orders, has had a treble disadvantage, it creates a separation amongst portions of our servants, who should not be separated, but should all be stimulated by one common zeal and aim, it lowers the value of the Order in the eyes of the Natives themselves, as they all must see that the bravest of the European Soldiers never wear to adorn it, and it creates amongst the Europeans in all branches of the Public service, as also amongst all the Natives in our Civil employ, the impression either that they are not deserving of the Orders of British India, and of merit, or that the orders are not worthy of them."³

"Under these views alone, it seems to me that to restrict the Orders of British India, and that of Merit, to the Military servants of the state, was a mistake, but to restrict them to the Native soldiery, the least worthy part of the Military, was a greater error, and one which could only have the effect of keeping it as the lowest of the Orders granted for service by sovereign rulers."⁴

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

The hesitation on the part of the Government to rouse loyal and better feelings by bestowing titles was a glaring defect. "Indeed, throughout the whole period of our rule in our Eastern Empire, our governing has been particularly marked by our abstaining from efforts to rouse the higher and better feelings of the servants by the holding out to them the prospect of attaining such honours as ambitious and noble minds may ever legitimately feel desirous for, and strive to obtain."⁵

It was argued that there were many persons who wanted to be elevated by title but being disappointed in their hopes looked for such favour to Indian princes who readily obliged them. This deprived the British of the loyalty of a section of people. One Streenavassa Pillay, a Hindu of high calibre and morality, wanted to obtain a title for himself and this he received from the Nawab of the Carnatic. He got the title of "Rajah Streenavassa Pillay Indian Bahadoor" for himself and "Rajah Shreeman Ramanooja Moonean Pillay Karan Wrint Bahadoor" for his adopted son who was at school. On being asked what induced him to seek titles he replied, "I was desirous of having this mark of favour, from my sovereign, to elevate me in the favour of my countrymen." "Yet who shall say but that, having felt he had exhausted all the favours of our Government he only resorted to a native court to get that which he so much had longed for, which we might have easily granted to men of his position but yet did not think of giving, or would not give."⁶

Dr. Balfour also advanced other reasons in favour of his proposal of bestowing titles on all sections of the people of India. Firstly it would cost nothing but would create a loyal class of people in India. "Sovereigns are enabled by their means, to recompense merit of every denomination without making the gifts burthensome to their subjects, neither Treasure of the state, nor the Civil Pension list, being in any way affected by such royal benefactions."⁷ Then education had spread in India and it was necessary "to satisfy the cravings and longings of those amongst the educated of these people, whose minds are filled with ambitious views."⁸ The exclusively military character of the honours was doing more harm than good. "The Mutiny of 1857 had proved that the Army alone cannot save British Raj. It ought to have a loyal civilian class." So, the scope of honours should be enlarged. He made his purpose quite clear by making the following points, "My impression is, that the Orders of British India and Merit might be extended to all classes of subjects in India, Europeans, as well as Natives, servants of the State, as well as private gentlemen

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

"The object of my present recommendation being to increase the power of our rule, it is a legitimate question to ask if the Native states, who have showered down with most open hands on their subjects, title and honors of every degree, have derived any advantages from their liberality in matters which cost them nothing of money value at least.

"For reply to that question, we may look to the results of our own rule, and recognize that though we are the power that has subsisted longer than any executive Indian Kingdom, we know that the Natives of the country, whether Mohamedans or Hindoos, look to their Native sovereigns, whether Mohamedan or Hindoo, rather than to us, and in taking lessons how to rule in future, it may be advantageous to take into consideration the subject of granting titles to our own countrymen and to the people of their country."

He made it all the more clear in the following paragraph, "In my opinion, seeing a dynasty passing away, seeing six men with different titles serving under me and knowing from the sircar Records how liberally the Carnatic Nawabs have bestowed on their own relations, on their servants and even on our subjects, Mohamedan and Hindoo titles, it has seemed advisable to bring the subject specially to the notice of the Government, as I believe it would add greatly to our power of governing the people of these countries, were we to use other than the mercenary means, which we have hitherto solely been employing. I can believe that there are many occasions where Government would find it useful to bestow titles amongst its servants...."

Certain other recommendations made by Dr. Balfour were as follows: poverty would be a disqualification for claiming titles; in order to ensure loyalty of all generations titles should not be hereditary; there should be no financial drainage on the state treasury and as such there should be no money grant at the time of the bestowal of titles; and as the matter of bestowing titles was urgent in order to secure the loyalty of the people it should be decided "in all cases in this land of change without delay."

The Madras Government agreed with most of the suggestions of Dr. Balfour and forwarded the contents of his letter in full to the Central Government. The Central Government in its turn agreed to most of Dr. Balfour's suggestions.

"The President in council consider it highly desirable that the subject should be redeemed from its present state of obscurity and uncertainty and placed on the same clear and well understood footing as it was under the Mogul Empire and as the grant of honors and distinctions is in the United Kingdom, and he conceives that there could not be a more opportune time for carrying out such a measure than the present when the recent

occurrences (Mutiny) have raised in many quarters a claim to the grant of honors from the Government, and when the administration of India has been transferred by Act of Parliament from the East India Company to the crown."¹⁰

They were of opinion that "in addition to the titles which the Government now bestows under general and somewhat vague provisions of the Resolution of the 30th May 1829, distinctions of a minor character for services of a civil and political nature should be systematically conferred."¹¹

The Government of Bengal also agreed with most of Dr. Balfour's suggestions. They also suggested that "There should be two classes of titles, hereditary and not hereditary; the former to be granted to persons of wealth and of a high social position in society", and that "the viceroy alone should have power to confer Indian titles."¹²

The Government of Bengal submitted a return of title owners in Bengal on 17 May 1860 and its thorough examination reveals interesting points about Bihar.

Maharajah Jaiprakash Singh, Bahadoor, of Deomoongah, a zamindar of Deo (Bihar) was conferred the title of Maharajah Bahadoor on the 25th November, 1858 (Government order 3434 dated the 6th September, 1858). He "held the title of Rajah on succession but that of Maharajah Bahadoor was lately bestowed for good service to the State. He rendered conspicuous service to the state during the late disturbances, and has been rewarded with a Jagheer of rupees 10,000 per annum."

Rajah Sheo Nandan Singh Bahadoor, a Zamindar of Shedcar (Champaran), was honoured with the title of Rajah Bahadoor on the 13th July, 1859 "for the good services during the late disturbances."

Rajah Raghunandan Singh Bahadoor, a Zamindar of Soorsund (Tirhoot), was honoured with the title of Rajah Bahadoor on the 14th October, 1859 "in consideration of the zealous services rendered by him from the commencement of the disturbance. A khillut was also granted to his brother Baboo Hur Prokash Narain Singh, who behaved well on the occasion of the outbreak."

10. Letter dated the 3rd September 1858 from Cecil Beadon, Offg. Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to G.F. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Letter dated the 15th May 1860 from A. R. Young, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Offg. Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

Rajah Roy Mangal Singh Bahadoor, Zamindar of Pustundah (Gidhour) was honoured with the title of "Rufut o Alee Murtubut" Rajah Bahadoor, on the 30th January, 1856 "in consideration of the services rendered by him during the late Santhal Disturbances."

Rajah Tribhoobun Deo Bahadoor, a tributary chief of Sambalpore, was honoured with the additional title of "Mushfig Mehrban Dostan" Rajah Bahadoor on the 13th May, 1848 by sanad "for services rendered by him in the operations against the rebel Rajah of Ungool."

The title of Rai Bahadoor was bestowed on the following persons for their good services during the Mutiny of 1857.¹³

Name	Profession and place	Date of conferment
1. Nundipur Mihta, Bahadoor	a Zamindar of Muzaffarpore.	23rd September, 1857.
2. Rai Mehup Narain Sing, Bahadur.	Zemindar of Chundergurh of Bihar.	19th July, 1859.
3. Rai Het Narain Sing, Bahadoor	"	"
4. Rai Lakshmi Narain Sing, Bahadoor.	"	"
5. Rai Rampartab Sing, Bahadoor	"	(Not yet personally conferred but will shortly be done.)
6. Rai Rajcoomer Sing, Bahadoor	"	"
7. Rai Shewgolam Sah	a banker of Goldengunge (Jarun).	31st August, 1859.
8. Jhakoorae Kishen Dayal Singh, Rai Bahadoor.	a banker of Lahardugga (Chhotanagpore).	30th November, 1859 with sanad.
9. Thakoorai Rugghooburdyal Sing, Rai Bahadoor.	"	"
10. Purgunnait Suggat Pal Sing, Rai Bahadoor.	a banker of Lahardugga.	4th December, 1857.

The following persons got the title of Baboo Bahadoor in Bihar for certain services.¹⁴

1. Baboo Mohinder Kishore Singh, Bahadoor, a zamindar of Bettiah, received this title on the 9th September, 1859 "in consideration of the (excellent) service rendered by the Rajah of Bettiah during the recent disturbances." He was the younger brother of the Maharajah.

13. The Return of title-owners submitted by the Bengal Government on the 17th May 1860.

14. *Ibid.*

2. Shah Baboo Buss Warylooll of Zowbutgunge (Saran) was honoured with the title of Shah Bahadoor on the 20th January, 1859 "for having aided in the different charitable objects."

3. Koonwur Juggernath Singh of Serai Kella in Singhbhoom was honoured with the title of Koonwur "Rufut Awalee Punnah" on the 23rd of December, 1857 with sanad "for assistance afforded to the authorities in their operations against Urjoon Singh, the rebel Zemindar of Porhat in Singhbhoom."

4. Thakoor Loknath Singh, a tributary Chief of Keyra, was given the title of Thakoor "Rufut Awalee Punnah" on the 23rd December, 1857 with sanad "for assistance afforded by him to the authorities in their operations against Urjoon Singh, the rebel Zemindar of Singhbhoom."

Rajah Loll Soorujbhon Singh, a Zemindar of Bhagwanpore (Shahabad), was conferred the title of Rajah on the 22nd September, 1859 "as a reward for his conspicuous loyalty during the rebellion."

Huzrut Shah Kuburooddeen Ahmud of Sasseram (Shahabad) was conferred the title of Huzrut on the 17th September, 1859 "for conspicuous loyalty and service during the late disturbances." He had helped the British Government with men and money. "He has done everything in his power to facilitate the march of troops along the Trunk Road. He has himself resisted Koonwur Singh, has induced the villagers and towns people to resist him; since the departure of Kooer Singh, he exerts himself (strenuously) to restore order around Sasseram, and has kept us regularly informed of the movements of the rebels in that quarter. For such services, "On the 2nd February, His Excellency the Governor-General in person gave an audience to Huzrut Shah Kabeeroodeen Ahmad and with his own hand bestowed this sunnud upon the aforesaid Shah."¹⁵

From the Return it is clear that in bestowing titles the first and foremost consideration was given to services rendered during the Mutiny or some other disturbances. Exception was made in the case of Shah Babu Bunwary Lall of Saran who was honoured for an entirely different reason—"for having aided in the different charitable objects." After a few years, we come across a number of cases when people were honoured for their liberal donations to public funds. A striking point is that Dr. Balfour's suggestion that there should be no monetary grant was not heeded in certain cases and we find that Jugheerdarees were also granted.

It would be wrong to hold that Dr. Balfour was the first man to have suggested bestowal of titles for strengthening the foundations of British Raj or that the practice of bestowing titles on individuals was not known in

15. From the Camp report dated the 2nd Februar 1858 of G.F. Edmonstone, Secretary to Governor-General, Camp, Jehanabad.

British Bihar. As early as 1771 one of the ancestors of Rameshwari Nath Singh Rajah Tuhowur Dustgah of Dhunwar (Hazareebagh) received a parwanah from Captain Camac for services done during the Palamou disturbances in A.D. 1771 in which the addressee was styled as 'Rajah'. "Even the grant of sanad could be traced back to 1783 if not earlier, when one of the ancestors of Run Bahadoor Narain Deo, Moharajah Refeut Awalee Murtubut of Dhunwar (Huzareebagh) obtained a sanad dated the 5th April 1810 for certain Nankar villages in consideration of the assistance rendered to Captain Brown and other Government Officers during the rebellion of Akbal Allie Khan, under the signature of Warren Hastings, Governor General. The earliest document in which he is styled Maharajah is a pottah for the Khalsa villages in 1810." "Doobraj Singh Rajah Tuhowur Dustgah of Serampore (Hazareebagh)" asserts that he himself holds a sanad for gaddee Serampore from the Collector of Zillah Ramgurh, dated 8th November 1780, in which he is styled Rajah. He is, however, addressed as Rajah in the local court.

So, these things were not novel even for British Raj. What was new was their expansion. Titles were distributed on a larger scale. This, as has already been pointed out above, is due to the necessity felt after the mutiny for securing the support of influential Indians.



EVIDENCE OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS ON C. E. TREVELYAN'S IDEAS ON EDUCATION

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In T.B. Macaulay's famous minute of 2nd February, 1835, there is no mention of the part played by individuals in bringing about the change from Persian and Sanskrit to English education. In H.T. Prinsep's diary, there is a reference to the pressure exerted by a party of younger civil servants, who championed the cause of English education with a fanatical zeal.¹ Even Trevelyan himself in his book entitled *On The Education of the People of India*, published in 1838, which was written in justification of English education, does not specify in concrete terms the part, if any, played by him in the formation of the educational policy, though in regard to the plan for the Medical college, Trevelyan's role is clearly indicated.² But in the whole book, there are undertones and overtones of zeal and passion for things European, specially the English language. But, still it is not clear as to what precise role, if any, was played by him and to what extent he influenced Bentinck.

In his *Twilight of the Moghuls*, Dr. Percival Spear has described the conflict between Charles Trevelyan and Sir Edward Colebrooke as the clash of ideas³ and the explanation for this difference in outlook between the elder statesman and the rising young man can be traced to the special kind of instruction which Trevelyan had while he was a student in 1824 at Haileybury College, England, which in its courses of study formed young minds on the principle of utility.⁴ It was due to this intellectual and moral background that his public virtue had "gone through very severe trials."⁵ When the episode ended at Delhi, Trevelyan was brought to Calcutta where he acted as Secretary to Government in the Political Department from 1831 to 1836. Jacquemont, who has given us a fairly objective analysis of the leading men of his time in India, had tremendous faith in the ability of this young man, and even the reticent statesman, Charles Metcalfe, agreed with Bentinck in "thinking Trevelyan a very uncommon and superior young man, who, if he keeps his health and has not bad luck, must be one of the most distinguished men in our service."⁶ Macaulay himself records utmost ap-

1. Sharp, H. *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, (1781-1839), pp. 132-33.

2. Trevelyan, C.E., *On the Education Of the People Of India*, See Appendix pp. 209-20.

3. Spear, T.G.P. *Twilight of the Moghuls*, pp. 67-75.

4. Campbell, Sir George, *Memories of My Indian Career*, Vol. I, p. 9. Campbell remarked that he 'came from Haileybury with a sound belief in the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. See Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography*, Vol. I, p. 328.

5. *Macaulay Correspondence*, 15-12-11, Macaulay to Ellis, 15 December 1834.

6. *Bentinck MSS*, Charles Metcalfe to Bentinck, 12 July 1832.

preciation for the talents of this young man, whom he calls "as a man of real genius, a man of the utmost purity of honour and of the strongest principles."⁷ Macaulay notes that "Lord William thought my destined brother-in-law the ablest young man in the service."⁸ Trevelyan fell in love with Macaulay's sister, Hannah More, whom he married in 1834, and since his arrival in Calcutta, a place of excitement, he was in continuous touch with the Utilitarian and Evangelical ideas, which had been agitating the minds of officials.

For a long time it has been held that Macaulay was mainly responsible for the change over from Indian to English education—a view, which has not been supported by recent historical investigations and the explanation mainly given is that before Macaulay came to India, Bentinck had already formed his views on Education and regarded English as the key to all improvements.⁹ But the following letters of Trevelyan to Bentinck, hitherto unused, are evidence that before Macaulay's minute, Trevelyan had been giving serious thoughts to English education and strongly intended to secure the preference to European learning over oriental learning.

In his letter of 18 March 1833, Trevelyan writes to Bentinck: "It is now my intention to apply myself seriously to what I have for a long time past considered the great enterprise of my life. I mean the moral and intellectual renovation of the people of India."¹⁰ Trevelyan longed to see established under Bentinck's administration a system of education "so comprehensive as to embrace every class of public teachers, so elastic as to admit of its being gradually extended to every village in the country, and so inter-woven with the constitution of the State by affording a ready access to its honours and emoluments to the most distinguished students as to furnish the highest motives to intellectual exertion to the whole body of the people, which this world can afford."¹¹ Trevelyan's mind travelled over different countries and he longed to see "such a system of education established in India as already exists in the State of New York, in the new England States and in Persia, and such as it is now proposed to establish in France and England."¹² Like a Utilitarian, he believed in education for changing the character of a people and, what is more, he believed in the formulation of set and definite principles of education which should organise themselves as a definite system and he hoped that such a comprehensive and revolutionary system, when formed, would be the "crowning measure of William Bentinck's administration",¹³ and "in 25 years it would entirely change the moral face of the country."¹⁴ Trevelyan thought that the time

7. *Macaulay Correspondence, op. cit.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Bentinck MSS*, Bentinck to Sir Charles Metcalfe on Ellenborough's letter, 16 September 1829.

10. *Bentinck MSS*, Trevelyan to Bentinck, 18 March 1833.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

was ripe for the measure and that the whole country was craving for a system of education.¹⁵ Trevelyan did not, therefore, anticipate any opposition. From this letter it appears that he was "willing to devote all the rest of my life" to the formulation of a system of education and to its spread amongst the people of India, and that all his studies were directed towards this object.¹⁶

In his letter of 9 April 1834, to Bentinck, Trevelyan "perceives in a very clear point of view the wisdom which has dictated your lordship's resolution to put off the development of your views on the great question of national education until the public mind should become better prepared for the reception."¹⁷ From this letter it appears clearly that Bentinck had already formed his views, though he was waiting for the opportune moment. There were two systems of education "which are totally incompatible with each other"¹⁸—the Muhammadan and Hindu systems, of which the organs "are the Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit language, and the Anglo-Indian system, of which the organs are English and the vernacular dialects."¹⁹ Trevelyan persuaded Bentinck that the time was ripe for taking a decision on the language problem. Trevelyan writes: "If your lordship's scheme had been brought out a year ago, it is probable that it must have contained an admixture of the old leaven, which would greatly have impaired its efficiency, but by waiting for a time and watching the progress of public opinion, your lordship will now be able to give full effect to your benevolent views. It cannot [can now] be conceived that English system has become the dominant one."²⁰ Trevelyan knew that in the close committee "the advocates of the old and new systems are almost equally balanced. Sometimes victory is on the side of darkness and other times light prevails."²¹ In so far as the committee was concerned, the strength of the Orientalists and the Anglicists was equally matched with each other and "Thoby Prinsep's zeal on behalf of the anti-popular cause appeared just now to give it a temporary ascendancy and Sutherland, whose views were never before clearly expressed, encouraged apparently by Prinsep's return, has at this 11th hour declared himself decidedly in favour of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian as important branches of national education."²² But, Trevelyan notes that out of committee the case was exactly the reverse.²³ "There the advocates of popular education have it all their own way and their opponents scarcely venture to brave public opinion by an open avowal of their sentiments. The committees of Delhi and Agra colleges are also quite of the popular way of thinking,

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Bentinck MSS*, Trevelyan to Bentinck, 9 April 1834.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

and at the Delhi College the dead oriental languages have actually been discarded, while the Agra Committee have set down a plan for doing the same and converting their institution into an Anglo-Indian College."²⁴ The influential members of the Indian community "are now of one way of thinking"²⁵ and Trevelyan notes with fervid zeal that "it cannot be concealed that India is on the eve of great moral change. The indications of it are perceptible in every part of the country. Everywhere the same decided rejection of antiquated system prevails, everywhere the same craving for instruction in a better system is to be perceived and the abolition of the exclusive privileges, which the Persian language has in the courts and offices of Government, will form the crowning stone, which shall shake Hinduism and Mohammedanism to their centre and establish our language, our learning and ultimately our religion in India."²⁶ Trevelyan ends his letter of 9 April, 1834, with a rhetorical note by writing that "it is a glorious privilege which, I trust in God, is reserved for your lordship to become the regenerator of more than 100 million of your fellow creatures in all their successive generations. Nay—India is merely the stepping stone to the rest of Asia."²⁷ In his letter of 5 January 1835, Trevelyan's vision gains a future comprehensiveness when he thinks of introducing the Roman alphabet and the introduction of the arts and sciences of Europe into the Eastern Hemisphere.²⁸

From the extracts given above it is clear that Trevelyan was in a great hurry, full of zeal and enthusiasm, speaking like a preacher from the pulpit, sharing a utilitarian contempt for the native system of education, and evangelical zeal for purifying the native character and combining in him both the utilitarian and evangelical influences by suggesting that an antique society can be renovated and changed too quickly. Trevelyan may be considered as a back-room boy to Bentinck, because these letters are written in perfect freedom and indicate the mutual confidence that both had of each other, and Trevelyan certainly acts as a channel which confirms Bentinck's views and largely prepares the ground for the ultimate realisation of their object at a more appropriate time. Trevelyan seems to be passionately attached to the cause of education like a utilitarian and has vast plans for changing the moral outlook of the whole of Asia. He does not think of the material power of England but of a moral Empire which would hold sway over the Eastern Hemisphere, and he is confident that Bentinck's administration would prove to be a real instrument for putting into practice his remarkable plans, and thus make Bentinck the St. Augustus of India. It becomes clear also that Bentinck had already formed his plans and was only waiting for the opportune moment, and it was the growth of public opinion outside the committee which really

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Bentinck MSS.*, Trevelyan to Bentinck, 5 January 1835.

convinced him that his decision on the language problem would not encounter any popular opposition. That is why he took almost six years since the formulation of his earlier plans for the realisation of his dreams, which he had had as a man of utility and action.

The language of Trevelyan in his letters is the language of a preacher. Darkness and light, two metaphors used, are expressions which had become common among fervent Christians. His letters to Bentinck indicate that his object was conversion of India to Christianity, and he holds that, by introducing English, India would become a Christian land, which in its turn would be a way for spreading Christianity in Asia. If his letters are rhetorical and charged with passion, it may be remembered that speaking in rhetoric and with charged emotions was a passion of the period, but the sentiments and thoughts which are embodied in the letters show the Utilitarian and Evangelical zeal for teaching and 'civilising' India and from there the rest of Asia.



EARLY ATTEMPTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO SUPPRESS HUMAN SACRIFICE IN THE GHUMSAR HILL TRACTS OF THE GANJAM DISTRICT OF ORISSA (1838—1845)

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While engaged in the collection of materials for compilation of the History of Freedom Movement in Orissa I came across some papers dealing with Human Sacrifice in Orissa. The original records are in the Madras Record Office but copies of them are available in the Office of the Board of Revenue, Orissa.

Mr. George Russel, first member of the Board of Revenue, Madras, who was appointed in December 1832, as Special Commissioner for settlement of the insurrection in Parlakimedi (1832-34) and Ghumsar (1835-36) was the first Government servant to take official notice of the rite of human sacrifice practised by the Khonds. He brought this fact to the notice of the Madras Government in his first report on the Ghumsar Affairs of the 12th August 1836.¹

Mr. Russel devoted a portion of his report to the description of the life of Khonds (Kandhas) living in the jungle and hilly tracts of Ghumsar. Then he referred to the practices of infanticide and human sacrifice in the following words: "Among the tribes westward of Sooradah,² the destruction of female children is common. I believe, I may say general . . . The same practice does not exist in *maliahs*³ subject to Ghumsar but the barbarous ceremony of human sacrifices exists there, and among many of the neighbouring tribes and is of annual occurrence. In some places the victims are of both sexes, in others, male only."

In his second report⁴ Mr. Russel described in detail the custom of human sacrifice prevailing among the Khonds. On the subject of effecting its abolition he stated, "No one is more anxious for the discontinuance of the barbarous custom than myself, but I am strongly impressed with the belief that it can be accomplished only by slow degrees. We must not allow the cruelty of this practice to blind us to the consequences of too rash a zeal in our endeavours to suppress it. The superstitions of ages cannot be

1. Russel's Report dated 12th August 1836 about Ghumsar Affairs.

2. A Zamindary in the Ganjam District of Orissa.

3. Hilly tracts.

4. Russel's Report to the Government of Madras, dated 11 May 1837.

suppressed in a day." He then discussed the dangers of any measure of coercion, which would incite the jealousy of the whole race. Considering all aspects of such a measure he expressed his doubt whether the desired result could at all be achieved by that means; "on the contrary", he thought, "that attempt would greatly increase the difficulties of the undertaking by engendering fear and distrust where it should have been our endeavour to inspire confidence and good will."

He also was of the opinion "that a law denouncing human sacrifices, and providing for punishments of persons engaged therein, would, as a general measure, prove abortive and involve a compromise of character which should not be hazarded." So he proposed that attempts should be made to improve to the utmost intercourse with the tribes nearest to the authorities "with a view to enlighten and civilise them and so reclaim them from the savage practice."

Capt. Miller, on the other hand, was of the view that the Khonds carried on the barbarous rite of human sacrifice for the fear that its omission might bring on them some calamity and their crops would fail. If the practice was stopped by force in any district for two years it "would then have ocular demonstration that continuance of the practice was not essential to their welfare", and once they were convinced of this fact, the sacrifice would soon cease. He stated that he did not apprehend any danger from the employment of force and intimidation.⁵

Capt. Campbell, Asstt. Collector and Magistrate of Ghumsar, proposed that he would meet the leaders of the Khonds before the ceremony was due to be performed and would try his utmost to convince them "of the barbarity and inutility of sacrifice."⁶ He would impress them with the abhorrence with which the Government viewed the practice and would order them to bring him the victims. He requested sanction of the Government to purchase the victims at the prices with which they were purchased. The cost per head would be from Rs. 15/- to Rs. 25/. He also gave a hint that he would try to gain over the *Janis* or priests to help him in the undertaking.

The Government of Madras considered the reports of both Capt. Miller and Capt. Campbell noted above and discarded the proposal of Capt. Miller about employment of force and intimidation for the purpose of stopping the practice of human sacrifice. The Government were guided

5. Letter of Capt. Miller to the Madras Government, dated 13 December 1837.

6. Letter of Capt. Campbell, Asstt. Collector, Ganjam, dated 16 December 1837 to the Government of Madras.

by the report of Mr. Russel on the subject in taking the above decision. They however accerted the proposal of Capt. Campbell accepting his request for purchase of the victims.⁷

Capt. Campbell accordingly proceeded to meet the leaders of the Khonds in his area, that is, Ghumsar, Surada and Nowgaon and ordered them to bring him the *meriahs*. The Khond leaders surrendered the intended victims and agreed to put a stop to the practice in future. He also stated that he was trying to trace out the persons who kidnapped boys and girls and sold them to the Khonds in order to bring the abhorred system under control. He arranged for the boarding and lodging of the victims at Government cost until they could be provided for somewhere else.⁸

Capt. Campbell in his next report,⁹ stated that he visited the Ghumsar hill *Mutahs* and could ascertain only three instances of human sacrifice in the area during the previous year. He further stated that he had contacted the *bisois*¹⁰ and wanted their opinion and assistance in the matter of suppression of the rite of human sacrifice. Though they promised to help him, they stated that the Khonds were suspecting them of betraying their confidence by helping the Government, and so they could not do anything to coerce the Khonds to obey the Government orders.

Capt. Campbell submitted another report¹¹ in January 1841 when he was in the hilly tracts of the Ghumsar area for enquiring into cases of human sacrifice which usually took place on the full moon days of *Pousha* and *Magha*, that is during December and January of each year. He reported that he could not detect any case in the Ghumsar *malia*¹² but he believed that some cases occurred in the neighbouring areas of Chinakimedi, Mahasingi etc. He also got the report that 24 victims had been sold to the Khonds during the previous year. Of them he had recovered six and was taking steps to trace out the rest.

He proposed to the Government that the seller and the purchaser of *meriahs* should be "be held equally guilty and summarily punished with imprisonment and hard labour or stripes... and that a similar punishment, though more severe, should follow conviction in any instance."

7. Resolution of the Madras Government, dated 15 January 1838.

8. Report of Capt. J. Campbell, dated 17 January 1838.

9. Report of Capt. J. Campbell, Asstt. Collector, to the Commissioner of Ghumsar and Surada, dated 15 January 1839.

10. *Bisol* is the corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Vishayapati' meaning the head of a revenue division. *Bisois* in the Ganjam District were collectors of revenues in charge of small revenue divisions consisting of some villages.

11. Report of J. Campbell, Principal Assistant Agent, to the Agent to the Governor in Ganjam, dated 22 January 1841.

12. *Malia*, high hilly regions of the Ganjam District inhabited mostly by the hilly tribes.

Lord Elphinstone who considered the above report recorded his views in a minute¹³ on the subject. His suggestions were primarily based on the recommendations of Mr. Russel. He did not advocate a policy of coercion and intimidation. On the other hand, he proposed a more intimate intercourse with the Khonds thereby slowly gaining their confidence and dissuading them from the cruel practice. For this purpose he proposed opening of routes and passes through the wild tracts, encouraging commercial intercourse between the people of the plains and the hilly tribes, and establishment of fairs or marts for that purpose. He also suggested raising of a semi-military force from among the hilly tribes, similar to the Paik Company of Cuttack. The view of Lord Elphinstone is summed up in the following sentence: "To cultivate an intercourse with the hill population, to improve our political relationship with their chiefs, and to impress the tribes themselves with a just, and at the same time a favourable idea of our power and of our disposition towards them, those seem to me the chief, perhaps the only effectual means of accomplishing our object. Hereafter when our authority is better established, and our intentions are better understood, we shall be able to introduce auxiliary measures."¹⁴

The Governor General in Council to whom the above-noted minute was forwarded entirely agreed with the propositions made therein and recommended their adoption.¹⁵ He stated that the Government of Fort St. George should superintend the proceedings and their more immediate control should be in the hands of the local Agent to the Government.

The Hon'ble Court of Directors approved the principles and suggestions of Lord Elphinstone on the subject of prevention of the rite of human sacrifice. They recommended adoption of conciliatory, rather than coercive measures for the purpose. Administration of law and justice in such cases could be applied only in the low country.

Captain McPherson was appointed as Assistant Agent in Ganjam to carry out the preliminary measures proposed by Lord Elphinstone.¹⁶

Capt. Campbell in his next report to the Government of Madras stated that the Khonds were coming to the markets in the plains to sell or barter their goods; thus intercourse between the plains and the hills had considerably increased. He, however, reported two cases of sacrifice during the year 1841. With regard to the principle to be adopted for abolition

13. Minute of Lord Elphinstone, dated 16 March 1841.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Letter from the Government of India, dated 3 May 1841.

16. Order of the Madras Government, dated 27 July 1841.

of the practice he stated, "I have used my utmost endeavours, in accordance with the instructions I have received, to impress upon all the horrors with which the meriah sacrifice is viewed by the Government and to persuade them to discontinue it but this it is hopeless to expect they will do, unless to persuasion and conciliation is joined the power of inflicting punishment by removal or otherwise of the purchaser and sacrificer as well as of the seller of a child, as already remarked in my letter of the 22nd January 1841...." He also stated that a total of 130 children, male and female, were rescued since 1838, of which 96 were disposed of by employment under different officers and 34 were still remaining to be disposed of. He proposed opening up of a road from Naogaon to the pass of Kurmingia at a cost of Rs. 5,000/- . That would, he stated, facilitate the communication of the Brinjarris who annually came to Orissa for salt from Nagpur side and promote commercial intercourse between the Khonds and people of the plains.¹⁷

Capt. McPherson in his first report gave details about the Khonds, their classification, marriage system, relation with the Hindu Rajas, the custom of female infanticide among some tribes etc. He stated that "at the lowest estimate above one thousand female children must be destroyed annually in the districts of Pondokhol, Golodye and Bori" and the reason for this system was the peculiar marriage system which involved the fathers of the daughter and the husbands in a number of complications.¹⁸

Capt. McPherson in his next report defined the areas where human sacrifice and female infanticide were practised. He contacted the leaders of the Khonds of Baro and Atharamutah who promised to relinquish the rite.¹⁹ He stated the desirability of establishing distinct relations with the tribes as subjects and exempting them from the general operation of civil and criminal justice.

On receipt of the reports of Capt. McPherson, Lord Elphinstone, just before his retirement, recommended that Khond districts should be removed from the cognizance of the Faujdari Adalat with regard to cases of human sacrifice. Capt. McPherson should have a company of 50 *paiks* under him and that the road between Naogaon and Sambalpur should be formed without delay.²⁰

Capt. McPherson in his next report²¹ stated that the Khonds of the villages of Baramutha and Atharamutha requested him to settle their long-standing disputes which he had accordingly placed in the file for his consideration and decision. He requested the sanction for appointment of a

17. Report of J. Campbell, dated 6 January 1842.

18. Report of Capt. McPherson, dated 24 April 1842.

19. Report of Capt. McPherson, dated 18 August 1842.

20. Minute of Lord Elphinstone, dated 24 September 1842.

21. Report of Capt. McPherson, dated 22 April 1843.

medical officer for the Agency. The Khonds believed that sickness was due to the wrath of evil spirits. The medical officer could dispel this superstitious belief by curing patients with medicine. That could not only help to eradicate superstitions among the hill-tribes but also inspire confidence with regard to Government's activities for their uplift. He also moved the Government for vesting summary power in a single authority who was to exercise it in a simple manner consistent with the system the Khonds were accustomed to.

The Madras Government moved the Government of India for sanction for the appointment of a medical officer for the Khond area as recommended by Capt. McPherson.²²

Capt. McPherson in his report of 8th May 1844 stated that 142 victims had been rescued and kidnapping of children had stopped for the last two years. He requested the Government for sanction of a company of sappers for opening the road to Kurmingia ghat, the only way leading to the Khond country. He also moved the Government to sanction Rs. 1,000/- for building two 'Cutcherry bungalows' which were necessary for establishment of the authority of the Government in the hill tracts.

The Government of Madras accepted the above recommendations of Capt. McPherson and sanctioned the measures proposed.²³

Capt. McPherson in his report of 10th July 1844 gave some details about the prevalence of female infanticide among the hill tribes. The practice, according to him, prevailed in the zamindaris of Surada, Korada and Chinakimedi. The population of the area was about 60,000 and the number of infants destroyed was roughly estimated at 1200 to 1500 a year. As a measure against the evil practice he had given in marriage 53 rescued girls to influential members of the tribes inhabiting the above area and he expected good results out of it.

During the absence of Capt. McPherson at Calcutta where he was arranging the details for formation of a Meriah Agency in 1845, J. Cadenhead, the Asstt. Surgeon appointed for the hill tracts of Ghumsar on the recommendations of Capt. McPherson noted above, was acting as the Principal Assistant Agent to the Acting Agent to the Governor in Ganjam. He visited the hill areas inhabited by the Khonds and submitted a lengthy report to the Government about the state of affairs prevailing there.²⁴

22. Resolution of the Madras Government, dated 18 November 1843.

23. Resolution of the Madras Government, dated 13 June 1844.

24. Report of J. Cadenhead, dated 17 March 1845.

He described therein how he managed to settle a long-standing bloody feud between the Khonds of Grenobadi and Daringabadi of Surada. He further reported that since July 1844 no human sacrifice had taken place in Pondakhol and Digi.

Cadenhead stated that though the attempts at prevention of human sacrifice had been much successful in the Ghumsar area, the state of affairs could not be maintained unless the Government took steps to stop the same in the neighbouring areas like Baud where the practice was being celebrated openly in defiance of the Government desire. So for a successful campaign against the barbarous practice he was of the opinion that all the areas where such practice was prevalent should be brought under one control.

In December 1845 the Meriah Agency consisting of all the areas where the practices of human sacrifice and female infanticide were prevalent was created under Capt. McPherson with three Assistants to help him. The Agency was abolished in 1861.



SIR ALFRED LYALL'S ADMINISTRATIVE IDEAS REGARDING THE ALWAR STATE

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Sir Alfred Lyall gained high distinction as a historian. His work as an administrator, however, is comparatively less known and it is this aspect which also deserves to be emphasised. Lyall's historical studies led him to conclude that the main cause of the foundering of Asian empires was 'over-centralised isolation'¹. He was acutely aware of the dangers of the British administration in India becoming 'as top-heavy as an over-built tower'. In order to check this tendency towards centralization he advocated a policy of decentralization, grant of local self-government, autonomy of the Indian States and administrative measures for fulfilling the aspirations of powerful elements of Indian society—the educated middle classes, the princes and the aristocracy². In this article an attempt is made to elucidate Lyall's views on the autonomy of Indian States. The way he tackled the problem of the disputed succession to the Alwar State in 1874, when he was the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana, shows his enlightened views on the administration of the Native States of India. The Maharao died without adopting an heir or expressing his wishes in regard to succession. There was no living legitimate descendant of the Chief of Alwar, either lineal or adopted. There was, therefore, no one who could claim the right to succeed to the State. In view of the British policy of preserving the independence of Native States, Lyall advocated the selection of a ruler from the collateral branch of the family.³ There were two rival candidates—Thakur Lakhdir Singh (aged 55—a man of ripe experience and administrative ability) and Mangal Singh (a minor). Ordinarily the British Government of India would have preferred minority administration, for inevitably more and more power slipped into the hands of the British Political Agent, who was thus in a position to infuse vigour into the administration. Thus one would have expected Lyall to support the claim of Mangal Singh. But Lyall had views of his own concerning the administration of the Native States. He preferred Lakhdir Singh to Mangal Singh for it would enable the Government of India to withdraw at once to a great extent from the interference in the internal affairs of the Alwar State, which circumstances had of late years compelled it to exercise. It was his considered opinion that the principle to be observed was "that of withdrawal from minute interference with the internal affairs of the Ulwar State so soon as we possibly can, consistently with our obligations to our people"⁴. Lyall added that the Government should be careful to avoid even the suspicion of being actuated by a desire to interfere

1. Sir Alfred Lyall: *The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominions in India*, pp. 62-65 and 321-323; *Asiatic Studies*, Vol. I, Chapter vii.

2. Eric Stokes: *The English Utilitarians and India* (1959), p. 315.

3. Lyall to Government of India, Pol. A Progs. February 1875, No. 102.

4. Lyall to Powlett, dated 21 December 1874, Pol. A Progs., February 1875, No. 135.

in the internal affairs of the State for a day longer than might be necessary in the interest of the people. Keeping this fundamental principle in mind preference should be given to Lakhdir Singh. An added argument in favour of Lakhdir Singh was that there had been recently a minority administration in Alwar and during this period power had been exercised by a British officer. When the minor had come of age and had been entrusted with power he had not come up to the expectations of the Government of India and had been removed. Then again the administration had fallen into the hands of the British officer. Therefore, now if on re-grant of the State, the Government of India should for the third time place the administration under a British officer, it would create dissatisfaction and would lead to the suspicion that the Government was planning to destroy the independence of Alwar State. Lyall's sympathies, therefore, clearly lay with Lakhdir Singh but he could not ignore the strong feeling in the family, in the Council, and in the State generally in favour of Mangal Singh. As a way out of the difficulty he recommended that the selection should be made by Bara Kotris consisting of 26 leading Jagirdars⁵. The Bara Kotris selected Mangal Singh and the Government of India approved of this selection⁶. Now that a minor was selected, Lyall thought it fit to strike a note of warning against the tendency of the British officers to assume more and more powers. "The natural tendency of a system which makes the Political Agent necessarily responsible for good government during the minority is, I think, to draw the whole conduct of affairs more and more within his personal control. I think that this tendency should, if possible, be to a certain degree guarded against, in order that the transfer of power at the end of a minority, should not involve a radical change of system".⁷ Not content with emphasising this fundamental principle of policy, Lyall took steps to increase the importance of the Council so that the administration should have the support of the people. He instructed the Political Agent at Alwar to continue to be the President of the Council with full powers to interfere when required. He, however, left him in no doubt as to his ideas about the role of the Political Agent in the administration of the State. Lyall informed him "that a President does not actually interpose, except by way of general guidance and direction, until his interposition is clearly required, or unless the matter in hand is extra-ordinary".⁸ He reiterated the fundamental principle—"as you are aware, I consider that system to be the best which is most likely to continue to work well when the personal supervision of a British officer has been withdrawn".⁹ Lyall's policy was approved of by the Government of India¹⁰.

5. Lyall to Government of India, Pol. A Progs, February 1875, No. 102.

6. Govt. of India to Lyall, dated 12 November 1874, Pol. A Progs, Februyay 1875, No. 109.

7. Lyall to Govt. of India, dated 24 December 1874, Pol. A Progs, February 1875, No. 133.

8. Lyall to Powlett, dated 21 Deccmber 1874, Pol. A Progs, February 1875, No. 135.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Govt. of India to Lyall, dated 19 January 1875, Pol. A Progs, February 1875, No.136.

THE PROBLEM OF EFFECTING PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS IN TIRHUT

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It is not a fact that the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis was introduced overnight into the provinces of Bengal and Bihar leaving little or nothing for the future administrators to do, except to collect revenue on the basis of the settlements made in his time with the zemindars. While it is to a great extent true, as is generally supposed, that the Permanent Settlement was introduced over wide areas in hot haste, there were tracts which took long years to be wholly settled on a permanent basis. In some areas it took half a century or more for the Company's Government to complete the process. These areas are sometimes described as "the unsettled provinces" in the records. For a long time the temporary and permanent settlements continued side by side in these territories, some *mahals* being settled permanently, and others temporarily for five or ten years. The district of Tirhut¹ in Bihar was one of those areas which went by the name of an unsettled province, rather vaguely so-called. In the record-room of the Muzaffarpur Collectorate there are abundant documents dealing with the gradual extension of the Permanent Settlement over this district. The present paper is primarily based on a study of the Collectorate records of the years 1833-38.

Among the causes which delayed or hampered Government action in this direction in Tirhut may be mentioned the following:

- (i) An unusually large number of small estates in the district which made speedy adjustments with the zemindars extremely difficult.
- (ii) Frequent changes in the land through alluvial and deluvial processes necessitating frequent settlements in certain cases.
- (iii) Persistent recusancy on the part of Tirhut zemindars as a class in coming to terms with the Government.
- (iv) The difficulty of determining in some cases whether settlements should be effected with the actual proprietors or farmers.
- (v) An exceedingly large number of jagirs and other revenue-free tenures in the district which, while resumed by the Govern-

1. The district of Tirhut included, until 1875, roughly speaking, the present Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts.

ment under the resumption regulations from 1819 onwards, made frequent new settlements necessary.

- (vi) Inability of the local authorities to make necessary preparations for the settlement, most of their attention being absorbed by the resumption proceedings.

In a letter addressed to the Revenue Department, dated 10 September, 1833, the Sadar Board of Revenue, Fort William, solicits the Governor-General in Council's attention "to the existing state of things in that Zillah (Tirhut) as regards the number of estates at present open to settlement or falling in from year to year (either by the operation of the resumption regulations or the expiration of former farms or temporary engagements with proprietors) contrasted with the means available for the settlement of these *Mahals* under the provisions of Regulation VII of 1822." While distinguishing between long-existing estates and those newly arising, the Sadar Board remarks that great numbers of both, having not yet been permanently settled, are "in the same predicament". In the same letter the Sadar Board invites the attention of the Government to estates arising out of lapses of life-grants and observes that the progress of both lapse and resumption "is considerable in that district". In the end the Sadar Board deplores the inability of the local revenue authorities to carry on the prescribed proceedings of assessment with sufficient rapidity to embrace all the cases open to settlement, and points out that "the faith of Government is solemnly pledged to grant permanent settlement to the proprietors of resumed lands without any long delay".

The letter above referred to is in itself sufficient to convey to us the unfortunate state of affairs existing in Tirhut even so late as 1833. But there are many other documents in the Muzaffarpur record-room which more or less tell the same tale. The Acting Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, in his letter to the Commissioner of Saran, dated 6 December, 1833, reports "that the Board are deeply sensible of the injustice and breach of public faith involved in the extreme delay that has taken place throughout your division in bestowing, where Jugheers have been lapsed or rent-free tenures have been resumed, the benefits of a permanent settlement upon those proprietors of the soil who are unquestionably entitled to that immunity under the law of 1793." The Collector of Tirhut, in a letter to the Deputy Collector on settlement duties, dated 11 December, 1833, draws the latter's attention to sixty-five estates in a particular part of the district open to immediate settlement and instructs him to take prompt steps for their settlement in perpetuity. But the Collector, in his letter to the Commissioner of Saran, dated 10 January, 1834, writes: "I am however of opinion that from the number of estates under settlement, and these being much scattered, very considerable time will lapse before the settlement can be concluded."

The proprietors of Tirhut often proved obstinately recusant in coming to terms with the Government.² In such cases the latter had generally three alternative courses before them, namely, to effect temporary settlements with those who were in actual possession or management of the unsettled *mahals*; to farm out the *mahals*; to hold the *mahals* under the *khas* management of the Collector. Thus the Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, writes to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur in his letter, dated 21 November, 1834, that if the proprietors of Mauza Puchra (in Tirhut) "persist in their recusancy to enter into engagement upon equitable terms, the *mahal* should be farmed for 10 years which should be done by advertisement inviting tenders, and the farm should be granted to the highest bidder offering unexceptionable security". In some cases the *mahals* in question were framed out for a period of five years.³ The recusant proprietors were entitled to a *malikana*⁴ which generally amounted to five percent. of the rental.⁵

With regard to the lands held under *khas* management it is necessary to note that in Tirhut, where the practice was rather widely prevalent, it did not work satisfactorily. In a circular letter to the Collector of Tirhut, dated 18 December, 1833, the Commissioner of Saran regrets the "continued injustice sustained by the land-holders by the present extensive system of *khas* management". The same sentiments are expressed by the Commissioner of Patna in a letter to the Collector of Chapra, dated 10 April, 1834, wherein he observes that in the estates under *khas* management, abuses and peculations, and the deterioration of the lands invariably follow on account of insufficient attention being bestowed on them.

In the list submitted by the Deputy Collector on settlement duties for the year 1833-34, 91 estates are mentioned whose settlements were either already concluded or expected to be concluded before the expiry of the season.⁶ The following observations of the Deputy Collector regarding the difficulties he had to face in the course of effecting settlements are worthy of note in this connection.⁷

"I beg to observe with regard to the foregoing villages that they are scattered all over the district; consequently much time is lost in travelling.

2. Letter from Secretary, Sadar Board, to Commissioner of Saran, 6 December, 1832; Letter from Commissioner of Monghyr to Collector of Tirhut, 22 March, 1834; Extract of letter from Commissioner of Bhagalpur to Secretary, Sadar Board, 9 September, 1835.

3. Letter from Commissioner of Saran to Collector of Tirhut, 22 August, 1833.

4. A payment made to the proprietor of an estate in consideration of his being temporarily dispossessed of it.

5. With regard to the amount of *malikana* payable to the recusant zemindars the Sadar Board in their letter to Government, dated 3 February, 1835, observed that "it would be proper to extend the more liberal scales of allowance to those parties in general".

6. Letter from H. Strainforth, Special Dy. Collector of Tirhut, to Commissioner of Monghyr, dated 4 August, 1834.

7. *Ibid.*

I do not suppose that in merely going from one encampment to another I traversed less than 500 *cos*⁸ last season; but this is not the only inconvenience arising from the scattered state of the work; the settling officer fixes his *Jumma* and is ready to proceed on his tour, but the zamindars in most cases require time to think on the matter, and the camp is moved without anything being concluded, and nothing further is done until the tour is over and the marriage month of Asarh⁹ is passed when the zamindars come in, agree to or reject the terms preferred; a more confined sphere of action would save much of this delay and on this account, and because of the great number of estates for settlement next cold weather and their size I think that those in the southern and western side of the district should be made over to an Assistant and those to the east and north left to me if I am again to be employed in making settlement."

During the year ending September, 1835, 56 estates were settled in perpetuity, and 64 farmed out for different periods and "still open to eventual settlement." 29 out of 62 resumed *mahals* were entered as held under *khas* management.¹⁰ In most cases, the recusancy of the proprietors and the refusal of the farmers to engage compelled the Collector to hold these *mahals* under *khas* management. The expenditure incurred on account of *khas*-managed *mahals* was generally not allowed to exceed 10 per cent of the net *Jumma* realized to Government.

Another problem which cropped up in the course of making permanent settlements in Tirhoot was the difficulty of determining from records, in the case of *mahals* "alleged to have sustained losses by the encroachment of the river," the principles on which temporary settlements had been effected with the *maliks* in those areas, whether the engagements with them contained "specific reservation that the Government was to be answerable for any losses on account of inundation or other accounts and the *maliks* entitled in consequence to remission in their public payment."¹¹ In such cases the Deputy Collector had to search out records of more than fifty years ago.¹² Another thorny question which arose was whether religious tenures transferred by the original grantees to others should be subjected to assessment or not.¹³

In effecting settlements with the parties concerned, and especially in declaring rent-free tenures liable to assessment, the local revenue officers sometimes committed gross irregularities. Serious notice was taken of such irregularities by the Government. Sometimes parties long in possession of lands were immediately dispossessed thereof by summary

8. 1 *cos* is roughly equal to 2 miles.

9. June-July.

10. Extract of a letter from Sadar Board to Government, 28 September, 1835.

11. Letter from Commissioner of Monghyr to F.O. Wells, Acting Dy. Collector of Monghyr, 15 January, 1834.

12. *Ibid.*

13. Letter from Secretary, Sadar Board, to Secretary, Revenue Department, 7 March, 1836.

orders of the Collector or Deputy Collector. Early in 1837 the Secretary, Revenue Department, wrote to the Collector of Tirhoot inviting his attention to the Rule passed on 26 July, 1836, and modified in December, 1836, which expressly stated that no party in possession of lands liable to summary assessment under the provision of Section 12 of Regulation III, 1828, as far as related to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, should be dispossessed, nor, if he be entitled to enter into engagements with Government for revenue should the said lands be subjected to assessment, until the expiration of six months from the date of the Collector's or Deputy Collector's order for resumption.¹⁴ Somewhat detailed instructions regarding such cases are contained in the letter of the Additional Secretary, Sadar Board of Revenue, to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, dated 22 August, 1837.

14. The rule further provided that in case any party was dispossessed of his land before the expiry of the period of six months from the date of order, he should be entitled to a sum equal to the net rental of his land till the expiry of six months.



UDAIPUR SUCCESSION, 1841-42

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The concept of British paramountcy in India had been an ever-growing political principle. Its evolution continued throughout the 19th century. One of its aspects, connected with the problems of succession, had become a well-settled principle by the time of Lord Dalhousie. It was understood that adoption for the purpose of succession in Indian states required British sanction which was more or less formal, except where there were no lineal descendants or succession to lineal descendants did not go in conformity with the law of primogeniture, or where British interests prompted otherwise.

In such cases, prior British approval of the candidates selected for adoption and succession began to be regarded as a pre-requisite for the ultimate grant of recognition to them to succeed to the *gaddis*. Here British approval was not necessarily a formal affair or a foregone conclusion. In the majority of such cases the prevailing usages and past precedents were consulted; the views of the members of the royal household and of the subordinate chiefs and grandees of the state were ascertained; and the safety and promotion of British interests were fully taken into account, before the grant of permission for adoption. A candidate who satisfied all these considerations was chosen. But in certain cases the last one became the sole determining factor.

Whenever the incorporation of a state into the British territories was considered advantageous as well as expedient, with no fear of any adverse reaction, lapse was applied as the shortest cut to imperial interests. For determining succession in the absence of a male issue recourse used to be taken, in general, to the Hindu Law of Inheritance and, in particular, to the prevailing regional or family usages. In this respect the Udaipur succession issue of 1841-42 was not altogether a peculiar case. Nor was it quite usual. Here, in the absence of a direct lineal descendant, the younger of the ruler's two brothers was allowed to succeed, to the exclusion of the superior claims of his elder¹. The most unusual and noticeable thing was that the Maharana did not observe the customary procedure and proceeded with the work of adoption as if there was no superior authority to question his act. This exercise of independent judgement singles out the Udaipur case from all others.

1. Extract from a Political letter from India to the Home Government, 10 August, 1842, No. 27.

During the time of Lord Auckland, Maharana Sardar Singh of Udaipur who had no male issue became sickly, and thought of making some provision for succession to his *gaddi* after his death. He selected his youngest brother Kunwar Swarup Singh for adoption as his heir and successor in preference to the latter's elder, Sher Singh, for whom he had no affection in heart due to his affiliations with his opponents. Sher Singh was declared disqualified both mentally and physically to hold the reins of government, although Lt. Col. Robinson, the Political Agent in Mewar, considered him to be quite on par with his younger brother in capacity and intelligence. In fact, the most convincing, probably the principal and possibly the only, reason was that Sher Singh had leagued himself with the party which had striven hard to prevent Sardar Singh's succession in 1838, as the adopted son of Maharana Jawan Singh.² Another factor that influenced the decision of the Maharana was that Sher Singh was in the confidence of several subordinate chiefs among whom he himself was unpopular.

In March, 1841, when the Maharana met Lt. Col. Sutherland, the Governor General's Agent in Rajputana, and Lt. Col. Robinson, the Political Agent at Mewar, in a conference at Udaipur, he casually expressed among other things, his wish to adopt Swarup Singh as his heir and successor in the absence of a male issue of his own.³ To this the alleged reply of Sutherland was that the Maharana was fully competent and would be perfectly justified to name any member of his family as his successor during his life-time, but afterwards the things might be different. Difficulties might arise and it might not be easy to carry his wishes into effect. In the event of his death the duty of selecting a successor would devolve on the *Raj Punch* who would be required to select a person best qualified to rule from amongst the nearest of kin.⁴ The Maharana realized the weight and wisdom of his advice and deemed it proper to translate his wish into reality before it was too late. Alarmed by the defiant behaviour of some high dignitaries of his state, apprehending disturbances after his death, if the succession issue remained undecided, and having despaired of his life due to acute rheumatic pains, the Maharana decided to make a formal adoption. Before fixing a date for holding the adoption ceremony he desired to discuss the matter with Col. Robinson and obtain British approval. With this end in view, the Maharana invited him several times to Udaipur without specifying the purpose. But Col. Robinson did not oblige the Maharana, ostensibly due to his indifferent health and the hot season.⁵ In fact he could easily surmise that the invitation was in

2. A letter from Lt. Col. T. Robinson, Political Agent at Mewar to Lt. Col. Sutherland, Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana, 29 October, 1841.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Translation of a *kharita* from the Maharana of Udaipur to Sutherland, received on 6 December, 1841; Translation of *kharita* from the Maharana to Robinson, October, 1841 (date not mentioned).

5. A letter from Robinson to Sutherland, 29 October, 1841; Translation of a *kharita* from the Maharana to Sutherland, received on 6 December, 1841.

reference to the projected arrangement for succession and preferred to keep himself unconcerned with it lest any commitment on his part might put the Paramount Power in an embarrassing position. He, therefore, wrote to the Maharana to communicate to him whatever he had to say either in writing or verbally through his accredited minister, whichever mode he might consider agreeable to himself.⁶ This he thought to be in keeping with the formal procedure which would enable him to communicate the matter to the superior authorities for instruction and direction.

Nothing further occurred till the 28th October when Lt. Col. Robinson felt surprised to receive an intelligence through a respectable, though not an authentic, source that the Maharana had publicly declared his intention to adopt Swarup Singh as his heir and successor. Later on this news was confirmed by the Minister of Udaipur, stationed at Neemuch, who was commissioned by the Maharana to communicate the event to Robinson before a formal letter could be despatched to him. He considered the Maharana's action without previous intimation to the Paramount Power as a strange proceeding, much out of the usual course of things, and an altogether ill-advised and precipitate step. He characterized the indiscretion of the Maharana as committed in a fit of ineptitude and felt that it smacked of disrespect to the British Government. He, therefore, abstained from any personal communication with the Maharana on this issue lest it might create an erroneous impression that the proceedings at Udaipur were conducted with his connivance. He simply apprized Lt. Col. J. Sutherland, his immediate officer, of the entire affair.⁷

Within a couple of days Lt. Col. Robinson received two *kharitas* from the Maharana, one for himself and the other for Lt. Col. Sutherland, communicating the adoption made by him on the day of Dussehra. To them was attached a letter from the heir-designate which was in the form of a contract to discharge the responsibilities entrusted to him. In this contract Swarup Singh specified his obligations to the Maharana and enumerated all personal, domestic and official responsibilities accruing from his new position, such as performance of marriages of the Maharana's daughters, maintenance of the Maharanis and observance of all customary rites on his death. He agreed to relinquish his claims to the *gaddi* of Udaipur and remain contented with the *patta* assigned to him yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 25,000, if, in the meantime, the Maharana was graced with a natural born son. Shri Eklingji, the guardian deity of Mewar, was invoked as a witness to these solemn promises.⁸

On receipt of these official communications from the Maharana, Lt. Col. Robinson gave full consideration to the subject. He treated the conduct of the Maharana as questionable and doubted the validity of the

6. A letter from Robinson to Sutherland, 29 October, 1841.

7. *Ibid.*

8. English version of a petition from Swarup Singh to Maharana Sardar Singh.

adoption made by him. To him the proceedings seemed to be 'apparently contrary to the usage', equally 'contrary to the principle which had regulated his own succession' in the past, and 'altogether inconsistent with the deference and respect, due from a dependent ally of the British Government.' Under these circumstances, the recognition by the Governor-General of the adoption made by the Maharana seemed to him quite doubtful.⁹ In his letter to the Government he clearly explained his attitude and accused the Maharana of giving a distorted version of the conversations at the Udaipur Conference. He stated that far from telling the Maharana that he was at liberty during his lifetime to adopt any one he pleased, Sutherland had distinctly expressed doubts about the legality of the proposed adoption of the youngest brother in preference to the superior claims of the latter's elder brother. But on the Maharana's remark that there would be nothing irregular and improper if he was allowed to adopt Swarup Singh, a promise was made to him that his wishes would be submitted for the consideration of the Government and it was actually done on the 3rd April.¹⁰ He regretted that no reply to that part of the report of the conference was received from the Government; otherwise, in all probability, the dilemma would have been averted. Knowing the adverse sentiments of the British Government, the Maharana would have refrained from the questionable course he had adopted.

Lt. Col. Robinson suggested¹¹ that 'it should be made known to all concerned that the adoption of Swarup Singh was solely the Maharana's own act and it was not in any way the result of any previous consultation with the local British officers.' He was inclined to believe that the petition addressed to him by Swarup Singh was concocted and was prepared in consultation with the Maharana. Notwithstanding this criticism, Robinson knew that in his act of adoption the Maharana was perfectly within his rights, howsoever unusual and irregular it appeared to the critics. He had not violated any pledge or any engagement with the Paramount Power. His treaty with the British Government was altogether silent on the subject of adoption, and there was no indication of any interruption of public tranquillity in consequence of his hasty proceedings. These views were expressed by Robinson to Sutherland but they were not communicated to the Maharana lest they should be at variance with the views of the superior authorities and cause unnecessary embarrassment to them.¹²

Lt. Col. J. Sutherland agreed with Lt. Col. Robinson that the interchange of views at the Udaipur Conference was not faithfully reproduced by the Maharana. But he did not take so serious a view of the matter

9. A letter from Robinson to Sutherland, 2 November, 1841.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*

as Robinson had done.¹³ In reply to the Maharana he laid down the British policy in the following words:

"It is the wish of my Government that the sovereign princes of this country who are without issue should, during their lifetime, name and appoint their successors; and it was desirable that Your Highness should adopt an heir in conformity with Hindu Law and with the usages of your principality."¹⁴

From the Maharana's letter it was not fully clear whether the general conditions laid down for adoption had been actually observed. He was, therefore, asked to state if the adoption was done in the presence and with the approval of the chiefs of Udaipur and strictly in conformity with the Hindu Law and the usages of his state so that the validity of the measure could remain undoubted and unquestioned and the Governor General might not entertain any apprehension in his mind on that score.¹⁵

In reply the Maharana stated that the adoption was made in conformity with the law and usage in the presence of the members of the royal household and the *Sardars* of the state. All those present at the ceremony including his brother, Kunwar Sher Singh, whose pretensions were alleged to have been violated by this adoption, presented their *nazrs* to Swarup Singh in accordance with the traditional practice.¹⁶ With this reply the Maharana politely requested the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana to carry the matter through and obtain the formal sanction of the Governor-General for his measure.

However irregular the measure of the Maharana was, it had not created any complications in the state. There was neither an indication of any interruption of public peace in consequence of the act of adoption by the Maharana nor any written or verbal protest made by any rival claimant to the throne.¹⁷ Kunwar Sher Singh continued to reside in the palace as usual and patiently and gracefully bore the inevitable. He refrained even from making any complaint of the violation of his pretensions. His peaceful conduct worked as an effective security against any disturbances in the state. The act of the Maharana, therefore, appeared to be complete and peace reigned supreme in the state.¹⁸ He was within his legal rights to ignore the purely moral pretensions of his brother. The only necessary formality which he had not observed was that he had not consulted the

13. A letter from Sutherland to T. H. Maddock, Secretary to the Government, 6 November, 1841.

14. A *kharita* from Sutherland to Maharana, 6 November, 1841.

15. *Ibid.* A letter from Sutherland to T.H. Maddock, 6 November, 1841.

16. Translation of a *kharita* from the Maharana to Sutherland, received on 6 December 1841; A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 8 December, 1841.

17. A letter from Robinson to Sutherland, 2 November, 1841;A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 6 November, 1841.

18. *Ibid.*

Governor-General and had not communicated the event to him afterwards. To this, objection could have been raised but as he had already communicated the affair to the Agent to the Governor-General, it was not a serious omission. Lt. Col. Sutherland realized it and suggested to the Supreme Government to take no serious notice of it.¹⁹

The Governor-General-in-Council saw no reason to object to an adoption made by the Maharana against which there were no complaints either from the members of the royal family or from the chiefs and people of the state.²⁰ He was fully convinced that the conduct of the Maharana was not at variance with the laws and usages of the Rajput community. Nevertheless due to the want of deference to the British Government which had marked the proceedings at Udaipur the Governor-General preferred not to authorize Sutherland to take any notice of the measures of the Maharana which might mark as British recognition of the new arrangement.²¹ The Maharana was satisfied that at least there was no opposition from the British Government, although there was no formal recognition of what he had done without prior approval.

Having made all arrangements for succession and being free from all anxiety about the future of his state, Maharana Sardar Singh proceeded on pilgrimage to Brindaban. Hardly had he reached Rajnagar, thirty-six miles from Udaipur, when he fell ill and had premonition of an early termination of his life. He was, therefore, taken back to Udaipur where he expired about twelve hours after his return, on the night of the 14th July 1842. His demise was reported to Lt. Col. Robinson by Lt. Crossman who had been deputed to accompany him to Brindaban. The collapse of the Maharana was attributed to over-exertion.²² However, Lt. Crossman suspected a great deal of 'underhand work in the business' to which no credence was given by Lt. Col. Robinson who believed that the sole motive for hastening the return of the Maharana was his fast-approaching dissolution and the anxious desire of the members of his family to perform his funeral rites with royal honours at Mahasati, the ancestral funeral place of the Royal family of Udaipur.²³

On the death of Sardar Singh, his adopted son, Swarup Singh, succeeded as the Maharana in the presence of all the chiefs who were then in the capital.²⁴ Robinson suggested to Sutherland that it was the proper time

19. A letter from Sutherland to Maddock, 8 December 1841.
20. A letter from Maddock to Sutherland, 17 January 1842.
21. *Ibid.* Extract of a Political letter from India, 10 August 1842, No. 27.
22. A letter from Lt. Crossman to Robinson, 15 July 1842.
23. A letter from Robinson to Sutherland, 16 July 1842.
24. Note from Mehta Ram Singh, Minister of Udaipur, 18 July 1842.

to grant recognition to Swarup Singh to ensure his unquestioned and undisputed succession.²⁵ The Governor-General agreed with the suggestion and authorized his Agent to accord recognition to the new Maharana.²⁶

In this case of Udaipur succession the procedure adopted by Maharana Sardar Singh was most unpalatable to the representatives of the East India Company right from the Governor-General down to the Political Agent at Neemuch. It was something which they had never expected. Although the adoption was made apparently in conformity with the Hindu Law and the Rajput usage, the omission on the part of the Maharana to announce the event directly in a letter, written specifically for this purpose, to the head of the British Government in India imparted to the transaction a character altogether inconsistent with the deference due from a dependent ally of the British Government. However, nothing was done either by way of disapproval of the conduct of the Maharana or refusal to grant recognition to the new arrangement beyond a refusal to take notice of what had happened. The insult to the Paramount Power, which most probably was not meant, was undoubtedly a bitter pill but it was gracefully swallowed without an attempt to publicize it and make it a thing for common consumption. Such a measure would not have been in the best interests of the British honour. The incident was, therefore, allowed to pass unnoticed. Ultimately, under different circumstance, after the death of the Maharana, when Swarup Singh ascended the throne, he was granted British recognition openly. In this respect the Udaipur case was an important case in the history of the evolution of the concept of British paramountcy in the pre-Mutiny Period.

The attitude of tolerance and non-interference adopted by the Governor-General was undoubtedly remarkable. There was no other decent and dignified way out when the British prestige had touched the bottom-point in Afghanistan. This British behaviour was largely dictated by expediency. Udaipur was the leading state of Rajputana both in political and social matters, while from the point of view of prestige and traditional honour it enjoyed a pre-eminent status among the Indian states. Any action against its ruler might have created unexpectedly adverse reactions. It would have annoyed the most formidable Rajput community known for its brilliant tradition of military valour and its ungrudging support might have been lost by indiscretion.

25. A letter from Robinson to Sutherland, 16 July 1842.

26. A letter from the Secretary to the Government of India to the Governor-General's Agent in Rajputana, 8 August 1842. Political letter from India to the Home Government, 7 June 1843.

NATURE OF THE SANTHAL UNREST OF 1871—75 AND ORIGIN OF THE SAPHA HOR MOVEMENT

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In course of my search for records relating to the administration of the Santhal Parganas in the 19th Century, in the State Central Records Office, Bihar, I came across certain papers containing valuable information on the nature of the Santhal unrest of 1871—75 as also on the origin of the Sapha Hor or the Kherwar Movement. The conclusions that I could arrive at from a study of these papers are recorded below.

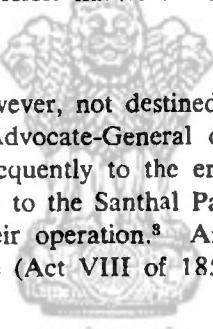
Kherwar is the ancient tribal name of the Santhals. The migration and settlement of these people in the territories now called the Santhal Parganas in the early years of the 19th Century and their painful experiences of the Company's rule culminating in the great Santhal Rising of 1855—57 are discussed in fascinating details in such scholarly works as Bradley Birt's *Story of an Indian Upland* and Dr. K. K. Datta's *Santhal Insurrection*. Among the commonly held notions as to the real cause of the movement of 1855—57, the oppression practised upon the Santhals by non-Santhal Zamindars and money-lenders combined with the contemptuous negligence of Government officers towards Santhal interest features most prominently. A close study of some earlier as well as later correspondence, however, suggests that there existed for long in the Santhal mind a vague dream of the old days when as Kherwars they held their lands and woods free, an expectation that those days would be brought back by some means, and a chronic yearning for their hope's fulfilment. This idea, stimulated in the Santhal mind by leaders like Sidhu and Kanhu, appears to have played an important part in the outbreak of 1855. "The movement so originated drew to it all those whose patriotism was stimulated by the recollection of their sufferings at the hands of the usurers and the police, but the fundamental idea at work, and that which was attempted to be put in practice was the establishment of a Sonthal realm and kingdom".¹

The strong arm of the British Government crushed this movement. The Santhals were temporarily subdued. But the humiliation of being compelled to submit to the authority and demands of others rankled in the heart of many a Kherwar patriot, until it found vent in the disturbances of 1871—75 of which one Bhagirath Manjhi of Godda Sub-division became

1. Quoted from Oldham's note in Bengal Judicial Progs. (B) Nos. 545-50 of August 1881.

the leading spirit. Before we come to this second movement, a brief retrospect is necessary to pick up some of the socio-economic trends that followed the outbreak of 1855—57.

The Santhals who perished in the movement of 1855 did not shed their blood in vain. The suppression of the movement was followed by a full enquiry into their grievances and by the passing of Act 37 of 1855 which separated the areas inhabited by the Santhals from the operation of the general laws and regulations. These areas were consolidated together into a new district called the Santhal Parganas, which was to be administered by a Deputy Commissioner assisted by four uncovenanted officers called Assistant Commissioners. The Commissioner of Bhagalpur was to exercise general powers of control and supervision over the whole administration, civil, criminal and revenue. The principle of the new administration was to be direct communication between the people and the rulers. "The village headmen were to be their own police, professional lawyers were to be excluded from the courts and procedure of the courts was to be of the simplest possible nature".² The Santhals were apparently pacified for a time.



The new mood was, however, not destined to last long. Following an opinion expressed by the Advocate-General of Bengal in 1863, all laws and regulations passed subsequently to the enactment of Act 37 of 1855 were ordered to be extended to the Santhal Parganas, unless the latter was specially exempted from their operation.³ Amongst others, the extension of the Civil Procedure Code (Act VIII of 1859) did much harm to the Santhals.

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It replaced Yule's⁴ arbitrary but sound limitation of interest on debts to a maximum of 25 per cent. by an extortionate rate and readmitted the professional lawyers to the Santhal courts to enforce its payment. The application of Act X of 1859 was even more unfortunate. Under its cover, rents were enhanced, Santhal headmen were evicted from office, and with their headmen Santhal ryots were turned out of the lands which they had reclaimed from the jungles, in favour of more advanced races, specially the Europeans. A typical example is cited in Bengal Government letter No. 6186, dated 6 December 1871 to Government of India, Home Department.⁵ One Mr. Barnes had obtained a farm of an estate, the rental of which in the hands of its late native owner was stated to have been from Rs. 12,000

2. McPherson, II. *Final Report on Survey and Settlement Operation in Santhal Parganas*, 1898-1907, p. 39.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Sir George Yule was Commissioner of Santhal Parganas from 1856 to 1861. The set of Santhal Rules framed in 1856 by Ashley Eden, the Deputy Commissioner, was named after him.

5. Bengal Judicial Proceedings Nos. 148-61 of December 1871.

to 14,000. In course of some three or four years he raised it to nearly 60,000. The ryots collected in their Santhal gatherings and threatened disturbances, and it was necessary for the Government to intervene. The Lt.-Governor thought "that the blame did not so much rest with the speculator who made most of the bargains as with the Government officers who had given him the farm without tying him down by any condition." The matter was compromised by the farmer reducing his demand to 40,000—"a concession for which he was thanked by Government." No special restrictive condition was imposed on the farmers even after this and the enhancing of rent went on continually. "It is painful to find", continues the Bengal Government letter of 1871, "that the lead in the practice of rack-renting, or at any rate full-renting the Sonthals, and harassing them by constant enhancements, charges for privileges never before charged, and the like, has undoubtedly been taken by the European speculators, who mainly owe their footing to farms which they obtained from the officers of Government. They have made fortunes, but they have left to Government a legacy of political troubles." Under the Advocate General's mistaken ruling the district was fast relapsing to the position from which it had been rescued in 1855.

But the movement of 1855 had taught the Santhals the benefits of combination and they now came to their own rescue. In 1871 signs of unusual agitation were observed among the Santhals of Dumka and Godda subdivisions. Large meetings were held and officials were interviewed by crowds loud in their complaints against the zamindars of certain parganas who in their turn all grew nervous. In Sultanabad, there was a panic caused by the innocent sounding of Santhal kettledrum. A general march of the Santhals to Dumka was widely rumoured.⁶ The Government took alarm at these developments and determined to revert completely to the non-regulation system. The Advocate-General's opinion was referred to the Government of India and declared erroneous.⁷ A full enquiry was made into the grievances of the Santhals and Regulation III of 1872 was the result. This Regulation was drawn under the provisions of Act Vic. 33, Cap. 3, Sec. I, and is regarded by many as the Magna Carta of Santhal rights.⁸ It re-affirmed the exemption of the district from the operation of all the Acts and Regulations not specially extended to it, as had been the case in 1855. It limited the interest on debts to 24 per cent. and to a total not exceeding the principal and prohibited compound interest. It authorised the Lieutenant-Governor to order settlement of the whole or any part of the district, and provided that during the settlement operations the jurisdiction of the ordinary civil courts should remain suspended. The settlement officers were directed to enquire into the cases where Santhal headmen and ryots had been evicted from their offices and lands since 31 December 1859

6. Bradley Birt: *Story of an Indian Upland*, London (1905), p. 224.

7. Bengal Judicial Proceedings Nos. 148-61 of December 1861.

8. McPherson, H. *Op. cit.*

and to restore them to such possessions if they were justly entitled. The residence of the Deputy Commissioner was permanently shifted from Bhagalpur to Dumka in the heart of the district in order that he might properly control its affairs.

The Santhals were again pacified. But their organised resistance to the census in 1872 indicated that they were far from satisfied. The next two years were, however, apparently peaceful. But in 1874, there occurred certain ominous developments which suggested to the authorities that some sort of political agitation was being worked up among the Santhals in the garb of a liberal religious movement, by their leader Bhagirath Manjhee (a resident of Tardiha, Tupgeh Barkope, in the Godda subdivision).

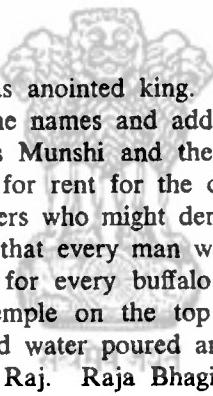
This man was the acknowledged head of an advanced liberal section of the Santhals. He advocated radicalism pure and simple in its most extreme form. The negative syllogism on which he founded his political creed runs as follows:—"No human being created the earth or sends rain and sunshine, no human being has cleared or ploughs our land, but ourselves; *ergo*, no human being but ourselves has a right to a share in the produce." This, according to Kherwar notions, unanswerable reasoning, met with ready acceptance from the not over-bright Santhal intellect and Bhagirath found many enthusiastic followers. The means by which he proposed to effect their liberation from their present bondage were to win over the principal goddess of the Hindu zamindars, *Singbahini* by offering her a more fervid devotion, in a just cause, than the lukewarm attention of the crafty and oppressive zamindars. It would therefore be incumbent upon her new Santhal worshippers to forsake all rival deities and do away with the unclean animals such as pigs and fowls. He thus commanded his disciples to slaughter all such animals in their possession, to abstain from anything which might run counter to the prejudices of a Hindu deity, and to comply with everything requisite to win and retain her favour. The fully reformed Santhals were to be called the Sapha Hors. With such doctrines in his head, Bhagirath and his Hindu friend Matadin, an ex-mutineer of a cavalry regiment, with whom he had been imprisoned in 1868 "for seditious conduct in trying to disturb people's mind by threatening an outbreak",⁹ were waiting since their release for a favourable opportunity to give to the movement a formal start. This opportunity came in 1874, the year of scarcity and famine all over Bihar.

The following facts about this movement are abridged from Bhagalpur Commissioner's letter No. 436-R., dated 7 October 1874 to the Government of Bengal and its enclosures.¹⁰

9. General Administration Report of Bhagalpur Division for 1874-75.

10. Bengal Judicial Proceedings Nos. 1-3 of November 1874.

In July 1874 a great number of Santhals and others came to Godda for advances of rice. As the Assistant Commissioner was out on famine duty, the matter was in the hands of a Sub-Deputy and a committee of native gentlemen. The result was that *mahajuns* and others were largely and readily served, while the Santhals were neglected or kept waiting for periods exceeding 15 days. This naturally created great discontent and grumbling. Bhagirath, who happened to be among them, now put himself forward as their champion, fanned the flame, enlarged on their grievances and described himself as the person "commissioned by God to redress their grievances, to fight for them, and to be their King". He ordered a meeting at Baunsi, the site of an old Hindu temple south of Bhagalpur. Great numbers of Santhals had returned home without rice, discontented and grumbling, and the meeting at Baunsi was consequently cheerfully responded to. It took place on 24 July 1874. The Assistant Commissioner, on his return, was informed of the situation. He sent policemen as observers to Baunsi. The Christian missionaries had also sent their emissaries to the meeting.



At Baunsi, Bhagirath was anointed king. At the foot of a hill he received money as rent. The names and addresses of all who paid were written down by Bhagirath's Munshi and they were told that they were now free from all demands for rent for the current year; that they were to refuse payment to all others who might demand it; that in future there would be no land rent, but that every man would pay Bhagirath 4 annas for every ox, and 8 annas for every buffalo plough, irrespective of the lands cultivated. At the temple on the top of the hill sacrifices were offered, libations of milk and water poured and prayers made for the success of the new Santhal Raj. Raja Bhagirath, after exhibiting a few juggling tricks so as to convince the people that he was more than a common man, exhorted them that "he could surely redress their grievances and make them an independent nation".¹¹

The visitors returned from Baunsi thoroughly converted to Bhagirath's creed. They spread Bhagirath's message from village to village. The order for slaughter of pigs and fowls had been given by Bhagirath previous to the meeting and none were allowed to join in the sacrifice there unless he had explicitly obeyed the order. Pigs and fowls were accordingly extirpated in a large part of the district, drinking and dancing abolished, "the impotent bacchanalian-orgie-loving gods of their ancestors" were unceremoniously deposed, and a new cult in honour of the all-powerful *Singbahini* inaugurated. Only one of their former gods, the Sun (Santhali Chando) was allowed to retain his place in the Kherwarian

11. *Ibid.*

system, and this simply because they did not see their way to dispense with him, as numbers of Santhals looked up to him as the creator and preserver of all.

This was followed by the establishment at Tardiha, under Bhagirath's auspices, of a shrine conducted on Hindu principles, with a Santhal *Panda*. The Santhals from the whole countryside, specially from Rajmahal Damin, flocked to the new pilgrimage, "while the killing of animals, if not carried out by the whole population, was at least effected by some in almost every village with the natural result—a split amongst the Santhal community."

Then came the panic. A vague rumour prevailed in Sahebgunj in the month of August that the Santhals were coming down to massacre everyone there, in the course of a march upon Rajmahal. Considerable alarm was created among the non-Santhal population all over the district by the universal killing of the impure animals. The Sub-Divisional Officer of Godda managed to arrest Bhagirath on the charge of intimidation brought about by a fellow Santhal in connection with the meeting at Baansi. As the new movement had a pronounced Hindu tinge, the Christian Missionaries took lead in spreading alarm and distorting facts about the movement so as to inflame the minds of the authorities. One Reverend A. Stark wrote to the Commissioner on 2 September 1874 that Bhagirath's followers were talking "that the Sahebs would either be killed or driven out of the country; that they would send the native Christians to the other world."¹² He therefore suggested that "Bhagirath should on no account be released", his other followers should also be arrested, and a census of villages that had killed pigs and fowls should be taken. Towards the end of the letter, the holy father comes more directly to his point. He says:—

"As to the religion of the Santhals, it is certainly changing; there are few ceremonies and festivals that seem permanent, but every year some new ones spring up. They do not however continue.

"Under such circumstances, it would be quite legitimate for Government to exercise a direct Christian influence over them by encouraging Christian missions, if it be still considered unadvisable for Government to take any direct part in the work. We applied for a grant for 50 schools, but did not get it.

"A great deal of money has been wasted during the past year on Government primary schools.....The teachers have been

12. *Ibid.*

chiefly Brahmins and Hindoos, who have been very irregular in attendance, and whose influence naturally is on the side of Hindooism. I have heard of two of the Sonthal teachers who were followers of Bhagirath".

The Commissioner of Bhagalpur, J. N. Barlow, was inclined to give full scope to the missionary's vendetta. He had also received reports from some officers that the Santhals were "at this moment ripe for the acceptance of Semi-Hindu ideas." He was determined that this should not be the case and did everything in his power to stop this movement for Hinduisation of the Santhals. He sent a party of 40 policemen to be stationed at Burhait, the central and most important bazar of the Rajmahal Damin. Forty men and officers of the Santhal Parganas Reserve were ordered up from Dumka to Godda, and later another party of 40 men from Bhagalpur to Baansi. Bhagirath was convicted on the charge of intimidation and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine, commutable to a further six months, under section 506 of the Penal Code. The Deputy Commissioner, John Boxwell, was ordered to proceed to Godda and Rajmahal to make an enquiry. He was directed to arrest the *Panda* and all leading persons connected with the shrine at Tardiha, and detain them pending Commissioner's orders. He had also orders to issue a proclamation that it was not the wish of the Government that the pigs and fowls should be killed. "Finally", proceeds the Commissioner's report, dated 7 October 1874, "as it was ascertained that the emblems of professed worship were mere stones of late institution, it was settled that they should be dismantled." Boxwell carried out these orders with remarkable ingenuity. He "extinguished the shrine, converting it into a temporary police outpost."¹³ He carried away the images, the *Panda*, Bhagirath's brother Ram, and Matadin. The perplexed Santhals uttered not a word knowing this to be the wish of Government. Everyone said. "*Achha; Sarkar ka Hukum*".¹⁴

Boxwell's enquiry, however, revealed that the movement was more religious than political, and that there had been no attempt at secret action. He observed, "A wide-spread, vague excitement is fast subsiding. A few people got a great fright; a few saw in the movement a chance of winning the Government to the side of Christian Missions".¹⁵ As to the nature of the movement his conclusions were:

"I believe that Bhagrat wished to become and did become, the leader of a great religious movement among the Santhals.

13. *Annual General Administration Report of Bhagalpur Division for 1874-75*; (Gen. Mis. Dep't. A. Prog. Nos. 1-4, September 1875.)

14. Boxwell's letter to the Commissioner, dated 1 October 1874 (Judl. A. Prog. Nos. 1-3 of November 1874).

16. *Ibid.*

"I believe that this pilgrimage and purification is evidence of a strong tendency among the non-Aryan Santhals to amalgamate with the Hindus who surround them.

"Except for the action of a few turbulent men among them, this movement might have been let to go on simply unobserved."¹⁶

The zealous Commissioner, however, was not in a mood to subscribe to the Deputy Commissioner's views. He must teach the Santhals a lesson never to be forgotten. He wrote to the Government of Bengal:—

"In my opinion, the provisions of the new settlement Act are final, and they represent the full measure of indulgence that the Government intends to give to the Santhals. The law must now be allowed to take its course, which it will do better without the assistance of a small tribe of petty agitators, who have survived the excitement of 1871. I accordingly propose to make it my business to put down such persons as Bhagrat Manjhee, Doma Manjhee and Bheem Sonthal by every means in my power".¹⁷

This Doma Manjhee had attempted to set on foot the *Sapha Hor* movement in Sultanabad area, and the enquiries that were made showed that he had visited Bhagirath at Tardiha and had also received emissaries from the latter at his own place. The Deputy Commissioner was accordingly directed by the Commissioner to take proceedings against this man. Doma and his colleagues were all arrested and put in Dumka Jail pending Commissioner's orders. Shortly afterwards there appeared in Sultanabad area another Kherwar leader named Gyan. He issued parwana to his people directing them to purify themselves in accordance with *Sapha Hor* principles, and to pay no rents pending settlement. He said that if they did not do so, "a certain Padree was coming who would take their caste; but those only who possessed his parwana would be spared." Gyan was tried and sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment. Finally in March 1875, a sensational report was received from Rajmahal that the Santhals were assembling at a place called Burtollah, and had proclaimed the country as their own. The Deputy Commissioner went round the country but did not find anything to justify such an alarm.

As regards precautionary measures taken on this occasion, apart from the distribution of police force already stated, two outposts of 50 men each were established at Burhait and Borio in Rajmahal Damin. Finally when, under the Lt. Governor's order, the Commissioner had "personally

16. *Ibid.*

17. Commissioner's letter to Government of Bengal dated 7 October 1874 (*Ibid.*).

communicated to him the ins-and-outs of all matters, he decided that troops should, for the purposes of demonstrating, be quartered at Dumka, and three Companies of the 4th Native Infantry were accordingly stationed there".¹⁸

The Commissioner of Bhagalpur justified these measures on the ground ". . . that the religious movement and rent question working together tend to produce a strong and discontented faction which would certainly become dangerous; for while I do not believe that the leaders have the power, even if they have the desire, to form in the mind of the Santhals any idea of organised rebellion, I conceive that when the people get together, as they are in the habit of doing, and excitement is fermented, there is considerable risk of sudden and unpremeditated out-break, which would be attended with grievous consequences. For this reason I have advocated repressive measures".¹⁹

It is always difficult to kill an idea with brute force and the Sapha Hor ideas also could not be eradicated from the Santhal Parganas. Bhagirath and his colleagues were sent to jail but their ideals were kept aloft by others and the movement quite imperceptibly spread throughout the district from one corner to the other. It penetrated even to the Santhal population of Manbhum and Hazaribagh districts, and a new Bhagirath, named Dubia Babaji, appeared among them to preach the Sapha Hor doctrines. Bhagirath was released in 1876 and the local officers were asked to keep an eye on him. The Administration Report of Bhagalpur Division for 1877-78 records that the Hinduising Movement among the Santhals was still progressing, and there was sometimes a good deal of ill-feeling shown to exist between the two sections, the old Santhals (Jhutas) and the purists.

It further proceeds: "He (Bhagirath) and his new sect, have been orderly and quiet; they have formed themselves into a separate community, they won't eat, drink or intermarry with the other Santhals; they call themselves Kherwars, and in their religious and domestic practices are more and more approximating to the Hindoos and may almost be regarded as belonging to that religion."

Regarding the great moral authority exercised by Bhagirath on his fellowmen, the same document adds:—

"Bhagirath's influence over a large section of the Santhal population is very great; he is looked on by them as their spiritual head as well as their adviser in matters temporal and he can do a good deal of mischief if disposed to do so".

18. *General Administration Report of Bhagalpur Division for 1874-75.*

19. *Ibid.*

One conspicuous result of Bhagirath's movement was, as previously apprehended by the Christian missionaries, a potent check on their activities in Santhal Parganas. "The missionaries have, I feel convinced," observes Mr. Gosserat in the same report, "received a great check in their work by the Kherwar movement, for Santhals as a body begin to think they have had enough of changes".²⁰

Bhagirath died in March 1879. His beliefs and faith survived him, and spread beyond the confines of Santhal Parganas. A letter published by one L. O. Skrefsurd in the Statesman of 8 November 1880 gives the following additional information regarding the nature of Sapha Hor Movement:—

"There are three sects among the Kherwars—(1) the Purists or real Sapha Hors, who worship no other gods than *Singhbhini* and the Sun, and abstain altogether from drinking and dancing; (2) the Fakirs or Babajais, whose profession is to traverse the country and beg; and (3) the half-hearted or Bhelvaragars who, while they join in all the observances of the others, retain their old gods also, with this difference that they substitute sweetmeats, etc. for pigs and fowls at the orthodox Santhal festivals, and preserve the ancestral drinking and dancing.

"All the converts are animated more or less with a proselytising spirit, and the burthen of their preaching is : 'kill all your pigs and fowls for the kingdom of the Kherwars is at hand.'

"They (the more initiated) are also professedly favoured with revelations from 'Ayo Baba' (mother and father), Thakoor and Thakran, God and his wife, who assure them of their countenance and encourage them to presevere in their laudable object, promising them ultimate success. They affirm that when the Sonthal sects have reached the tribal number of twelve, the Kherwarian millennium will dawn, and that if the zamindars and 'Hakims' will not then accede to their just demands for Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, they will clear them off the face of the earth as they have done the forest from time immemorial."

Towards the end of the letter the writer observes "that the movement is no socio-religious one, but a rabid socialistic political agitation, the religion being only a means towards an end, and that the settlement, which was based on the rights of landlord and tenants, did not and could not give it an impetus, since the Kherwars will be satisfied with nothing less than absolute anarchic independence, which even the most advanced English Liberal would hardly be prepared to advocate."

Mr. Oldham, at that time Deputy Commissioner of Santhal Parganas, agreed with most of the conclusions of Skrefsurd.²¹

In 1881 there was recrudescence of troubles in the Santhal Parganas on the eve of the census, and a number of Sapha Hors were punished for it. But the Kherwar idea continued to prosper. The Census Reports of 1911 and 1921 record existence of such movement among the Santhals,²² and the recently published *History of Freedom Movement in Bihar* by Dr. K. K. Datta indicates that the Sapha Hor movement was once again vigorously revived in 1938 when it allied itself with the Congress movement and played an important role in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1942-43.²³

21. Bengal Judl. Deptt. B. Progs. Nos. 545-550 of August 1881.

22. { *Census of India* 1911 Vol. V, Part I, p. 216.

Census of India 1921 Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 131-32.

23. Datta, Dr. K. K. *History of Freedom Movement in Bihar*, Vol. III, pp. 185-95.



EDUCATION IN THE DARBHANGA RAJ (1880—1900)

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In the year 1958, I paid two visits to the Darbhanga Raj Archives and continued my study of the educational records¹ of the years 1880 to 1900. In 1880 the Raj was no longer under the Court of Wards,² and Maharaja Lakshmiswar Singh was taking an active interest in the educational activities of his estate. Since the inauguration of the Raj Vernacular School scheme of 1867,³ the education of the district (of Darbhanga) had practically come under the control of the Darbhanga Raj. During the first half of the period under review, with the exception of two Government Middle Vernacular and four aided Middle English Schools, all the others in the district were supported by the Raj.⁴ For a proper understanding of the development of education in the district, therefore, the importance of Raj archives can hardly be over-emphasized. In this article an attempt has been made to survey the progress of different types of education in the estate.

Vernacular education:—Vernacular schools started under the scheme of 1867 did not prove popular, and out of the 26 schools only 9 survived at the close of the period under review. The schools had to be closed due to a number of causes. In some locality the ryots for whose benefit these schools had been established were averse to education and preferred their children helping them in the field to receiving instruction in the school.⁵ In some cases the ryots of some villages behaved very badly and stopped paying rents to the Raj, and consequently the Raj either shifted the school to some other village or abolished it.⁶ In all these schools the students belonged mostly to the low castes and did not pay much attention to education. They attended the school for a year or so and then left it for ever, acquiring only a superficial knowledge in mental arithmetic.

1. For the nature and arrangement of records preserved in the Record Office of Darbhanga Raj see my article entitled *The Darbhanga Raj record office with particular reference to the educational records*, published in the proceedings Volume XXXIV, Part II of the Indian Historical Records Commission. Another article on this subject which has been contributed by me for the "Indian Archives" is shortly to come out.

2. The estate was released from the administration of the Court of Wards in 1879.

3. For details see *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings, Volume XXXIV, Part II, pp. 36-40.*

4. Letter No. 392 dated the 8th November, 1884, from the Assistant Inspector of Schools, Patna Division, to the Inspector of Schools, Bihar circle.

5. From the Sub-Manager, Naredigar Circle, to the General Manager, Raj Darbhanga, dated the 17th September, 1883.

6. The Banoli School had been established in August 1883, and was abolished after only eight months of its existence on the ground of bad behaviour of ryots towards the Raj. The school was transferred to Barawari.

and such other subjects as were necessary for their respective vocations.⁷ The boys of the higher castes, such as brahman and kayastha, who usually prosecuted their studies beyond the middle school stage, were unwilling to get themselves admitted as there was no provision for the teaching of English. Even in the Raj High English School students from the middle vernacular school were not admitted in the upper classes as they possessed no knowledge of the English language. They had to start from the lowest class. Moreover, middle vernacular scholarships were tenable for four years only, and it was hard even for the recipients of those scholarships to pass the Entrance examination within that period.⁸ Yet another cause for the unpopularity of these schools was the growing tendency among the people to give their children English education. There are petitions from the inhabitants of Bahera, Digmara⁹ and neighbouring villages to the manager of Raj Darbhanga for the establishment of "a school teaching English and Hindi." Similarly the villagers of Tajpur prayed the Maharaja for opening a Middle English School in their village. On the rejection of their petition they raised funds among themselves and started an English School.¹⁰

The existing middle vernacular schools had all a good record to their credit. The number of students from them competing in the middle vernacular scholarship examination was not only greater than those representing the Government schools in the district but they could also favourably compare with those of the other districts of the Patna Division.¹¹ Teachers were

7. From the Sub-Manager, Jhanjharpur circle, to the General Manager, Raj Darbhanga, dated the 15th February, 1885.

8. *Ibid.*

9. On the 16th April, 1887, the Sub-Manager of Naredigar circle thus reported to the General Manager, Raj Darbhanga, on the anxiety of the ryots to have an English School at Digmara. "They seem particularly anxious to have English taught and I have advised them to study Hindi but they all say that good appointments can be obtained by English knowing persons (only)."

10. The petition is dated the 13th June, 1887.

11. (a) Result of Vernacular Scholarship examination of Patna Division in 1833.

	1st Grade	2nd Grade	3rd Grade	The period since there was a Deputy Inspector
Saran	2	5	9	..
Gaya	1	3	15	..
Darbhanga . . .	1	2	8	12 years
Shahabad . . . .	..	12	21	..
Champaran . . . .	..	5	6	..
Muzaffarpur . . . .	..	3	7	28 years
Patna . . . .	..	1	12	32 years

paid their salary regularly from the respective Raj circles in which their schools were situated. A mere petition from any teacher about the non-receipt of his salary immediately brought forth a letter from the Manager asking the Sub-Manager of the circle to explain the matter. The General Manager had issued a circular letter to the circle Sub-Managers that all the teachers must be paid by the 15th of the month following the one for which their pay was due.¹² Sometimes advances were made to the teachers for purchasing land or for some other necessary work. An outhouse was constructed at Jalai School for the accommodation of teachers coming there from the interior in connection with school work.

English education:--The Raj High School of Darbhanga was the premier educational institution in the district. It was fortunate in having Mr. S. H. Watling as its headmaster for a considerable period.¹³ During his term of headmastership many important changes were introduced into the school. At his initiative a cricket club was formed at the school.¹⁴ It was during his time that the practice of awarding a silver medal to the student securing the highest marks at the entrance examination was also begun. At the instance of the Maharaja he drew up a scheme for giving practical instruction in surveying and printing. It was approved of by the Maharaja, and was given a trial. The surveying class proved quite popular among the students. But the printing class did not make much headway owing to the lukewarmness of the instructors.

(b) Result of the Middle Vernacular Scholarship examination of Darbhanga district

	1st Grade	2nd Grade	3rd Grade
Darbhanga Raj Schools	1	सन्यमेव जय ¹⁵	7
Jogiara Govt. School	..	..	1
Baugrath Govt. School	..	..	..

(c) Result of Middle Anglo-Vernacular scholarship examination

	1st Grade	2nd Grade	3rd Grade
Madhubani Govt. aided School	..	3	..
Tajpur Govt. aided School
Narhan Govt. aided School

12. From the General Manager, Raj Darbhanga, to the Sub-Manager, Jalai circle, dated the 15th January, 1887.

13. Mr. S. H. Watling was associated with this institution for 27 years.

14. A football club which was also started later failed for want of necessary funds.

To induce instructors to make greater exertions he suggested the introduction of the payment-by-result system, according to which they were to get additional remuneration by capitation (i.e. according to the number of students they trained). Later on in May, 1888, he submitted a memorandum on the improvement of the Raj High School and the branch Middle English School at Backerganj. His main recommendations were : (a) the establishment of practical classes (consisting of surveying, printing, apprentice clerks and artisan classes); (b) the appointment of a writing master (i.e. training in calligraphy); (c) the introduction of fees; (d) the creation of a School Improvement Fund (for improving the library, providing scholarships, organising games and granting bonus or special allowance to old and deserving teachers) and (e) the uniform working of the Raj schools under the central authority of the High School.

The number of students in the High School rose steadily. It was 440 in 1898-99. The policy of the authorities was to keep the number of students rather low to ensure better efficiency. The average daily attendance during that year was 343.3. One most noticeable fact during the period was an increase in the number of pupils belonging to the higher classes. It is also interesting to note that while the number of mussalman boys went on increasing steadily that of the *Shrotriya* brahmans declined.¹⁵ Throughout the period the result of the school was very creditable. From 40% in 1888-89 the number of successful students rose to 85% in 1896-97. Of the 14 successful students in 1898-99, 4 were placed in the 1st Division, 6 in the 2nd and 4 in the 3rd Division—a result which was reasonably regarded as highly satisfactory.

In 1896, a drawing class was introduced into the Raj School following a Government notification that in the award of junior scholarships credit was to be given to those candidates who passed in drawing. At the initiative of Mr. Kripanath Majumdar, who succeeded Mr. S. H. Watling as the headmaster, a moral training class was opened in the Raj School. In this class all the boys were required to attend weekly instructions given on non-sectarian general morality.¹⁶ Superintendents were appointed from among the boys of approved moral character to look after the conduct of the boys of their respective *mohullas* and to bring to the notice of the headmaster any case of moral delinquency.

Fees and Scholarships:—Education in all the Raj Schools was free. In the beginning it was regarded as necessary by all to encourage learning but gradually the officers of the Education Department and also some of the officers of the Darbhanga Raj itself began to doubt the advisability

15. Annual Report submitted by the Headmaster of the Raj High School on the 30th September, 1896.

16. From the Headmaster, Raj High School, to the Maharaja of Darbhanga dated the 9th February, 1899.

of continuing this system. In their opinion irregularity of attendance in the school was the direct result of free education. Their contention was that unless fee was charged from the boys their guardians would not care whether their wards were going to the school or not. So in the opinion of the Government Inspector of Schools the liberality of the Raj was doing a positive harm to the very cause of education.¹⁷ But the Raj authorities viewed the matter quite differently. They regarded the imparting of free education or what they called it *Vidyadana* as a matter of great pride and quite in keeping with the ancient custom of the family. So whenever the proposal of introducing fees in the Raj schools was brought before the Maharaja, he rejected it outright. The only thing that was done in this respect was to levy fines on the students absenting from the school. Other "disqualification rules" were also introduced to ensure regular attendance.

Not only was no fee charged in the Raj schools but also a number of scholarships of various amounts were created for poor and meritorious students. Twenty scholarships were attached to the Raj High School "for the benefit of the more promising pupils passing out of the Raj Village Schools." Some junior scholarships were also created. In the beginning the junior scholarship (for F.A. students) was tenable for two years at the Queen's College, Banaras, only but later on the recipients of the scholarship had "the option to join either Banaras College, Patna College or Bihar National College."¹⁸ In June 1892, seven "charity scholarships" were created to be granted on usual grounds of "poverty, good conduct and progress." Four of these were "reserved for the sons of poor Raj servants, tenants and dependents."¹⁹ It was also the wish of the Maharaja to grant a certain amount as monthly stipend "to a Biharee Hindoo student of Patna College who can stand first in B.A. examination in Calcutta University."²⁰

Relation with Government:—Co-operation with the Government was maintained by introducing the Government curriculum and allowing the Raj schools to be inspected by Government school inspectors and the magistrate and collector of the district. The various scholarship examinations were permitted to be held in the Raj schools and all facilities for invigilation work were afforded by the Raj. The Raj was also giving subscriptions to the Government primary *pathshalas* which

17. From the Assistant Inspector of Schools, Patna Division, to the Inspector of Schools, Bihar circle, dated the 8th November, 1884.

18. From the Manager, Raj Darbhanga, to the Headmaster of Raj High School, Darbhanga, dated the 21st October, 1884.

19. From Maharaja Lakshmiswar Singh to Babu Bisheshwar Singh, dated the 25th August, 1891.

20. These scholarships were tenable for five years. Of the four reserved scholarships the amount of two was Rs. 3/8/- and of the remaining two Rs. 3/- only per month.

were, however, stopped from the year 1884.²¹ But the local Government officers did not view the progress of the Raj schools with equanimity. They were jealous of the fact that the Raj had "practically monopolized education" in the district. They regarded Raj schools as a great impediment to the success of the Government educational institutions. As the Raj schools gave free education the Government institutions, where fee was demanded, failed to attract a sufficient number of students. Their pressing requests to the Raj authorities for introducing fees in their schools went unheeded. All these naturally antagonised the Government officers, and produced ill-feeling among them. With the help of some local gentlemen they started a Middle English School at Lahiriasarai, to which place the Government headquarters had been shifted. They even induced students to leave the Raj school and get themselves admitted there. As a matter of fact some students who had been refused promotion because of their failure at the examination were not only admitted in the new school but also promoted to the class they desired. The Government also helped this school by granting aid. It had its reactions on the Raj also. Soon a Raj Middle English School was started in the neighbourhood at Backerganj. As this school was again a free school it seriously affected the numerical strength of the school at Lahiriasarai. Meanwhile, one Mr. Beadon, a Government officer there, tried to effect a compromise between the two parties and appealed to the Maharaja to allow the amalgamation of the two schools. But the feeling was so much excited that this could not be possible for some years.²²

Sanskrit Education:—Of Sanskrit schools reference is made to two Pathshalas only viz., the Rahika Sanskrit Pathshala and the Madhubani Sanskrit Pathshala.²³ The Rahika Sanskrit Pathshala was established in 1881. Originally instruction was given in the Vedas, Vyakaran, Nyaya and Jyotish. For each of the subjects a learned pandit had been appointed. But the teaching of Nyaya was suspended on the death of the Nyaya pandit in 1893. The Pathshala was put under the supervision of the Raj Deputy Inspector of Schools in 1889. The students of the Pathshala used to appear at the Bihar Sanskrit Sanjivan examinations. But before 1895, no student of the Pathshala could appear in the above examination owing to the fact that Devnagari character of which they had not the requisite knowledge was compulsory for the written examination. They were using Maithili script in writing. After finishing their studies in the Pathshala the majority of the students used to proceed to Kashi to complete their education in

21. From the Maharaja of Darbhanga to the Magistrate of Darbhanga district dated the 19th October, 1883.

22. The only result that came out of this negotiation was the shifting of the Raj Middle English School from Backerganj to Katahalbari near the Raj High school.

23. The Darbhanga Raj was only a subscriber to the Madhubani Sanskrit Pathshala. At the time of its establishment the Raj donated Rs. 500/- for the construction of the school house. Later on it made grants from time to time for its repair.

the subject of their study. In one case alone we find that a student of Vyakaran, Shri Gulab Jha, went to Nadiya to study Nyaya. Four students of the Jyotish class won Government scholarships of various amounts. Their teacher, in consequence, also received a monetary reward of Rs. 120/- from the Government. On his accession to the *gadi* Maharaja Rameshwar Singh made an enquiry in 1899 about the state of affairs in the Pathshala. There were at the time 63 students and three teachers, and in the 18 years of the Pathshala's existence only 39 had passed in the Bihar Sanjivan examination. The Maharaja regarded the progress as very unsatisfactory.

With Maharaja Rameshwar Singh's accession to the *gadi* Sanskrit education in the estate received a great impetus. Within a year the Maharaja created 20 scholarships for the revival and encouragement of Vedic education among the Maithil brahmans.²⁴ The stipends were ordinarily tenable for 3 years, but "could be continued for any longer length of time" if in the opinion of the *Adhyapakas* and Maharaja it was considered expedient to allow any of them "to acquire a wider range of knowledge." The above arrangement was to come into force from the 1st January, 1900.

Maharaja Rameshwar Singh encouraged Sanskrit education by various other ways. He revived the examination called the *Dhoti Pariksha*. It took its name from the practice of presentation of *dhoti* by the Maharaja to the successful candidates. The examination was held on some very auspicious ceremonial occasion. It was an extremely difficult examination, and the syllabus comprised almost all the known books on a particular subject. The subjects of examination were—Sam Veda, Yajur Veda, Sankhya, Yoga, Dharmashastra, Vedanta, Mimansa, Nyaya, Jyotish, Vyakaran, Kavya Sahitya and Hindi Kavya.²⁵ The full mark in each subject was 300. It was both a written and oral examination. The Board of examiners consisted of 14 learned pandits of the Raj.²⁶ The recipients

24. The following were the number and amount of scholarships in the different branches of the Vedas.

4 Madhyandini Sakha	Rs. 4/-	per month	Rs. 16/-
4 Krishna Yajur	Rs. 5/-	Do.	Rs. 20/-
4 Rig Veda	Rs. 5/-	Do.	Rs. 20/-
4 Sam Veda	Rs. 5/-	Do.	Rs. 20/-
4 Atharva Veda	Rs. 5/-	Do.	Rs. 20/-
Total :			Rs. 96/- per month.

25. Later on Maithili was also added a subject of examination.

26. The following pandits constituted the Board of examiners.

(1) M. M. Shri Ayodhyanath Mishra; (2) M. M. Shri Krishna Singh Thakur; (3) M. M. Shri Shiva Kumar Mishra; (4) M. M. Shri Subramanya Shastri; (5) M. M. Shri Chatradher Mishra; (6) Pt. Shri Sadan Mishra; (7) Pt. Shri Janardan Jha; (8) Pt. Shri Yogadatta Jha; (9) Pt. Shri Gosain Jha; (10) Pt. Shri Bishwanath Jha; (11) Pt. Shri Sitaram Shastri; (12) Pt. Shri Raghunath Mishra; (13) Pt. Shri Ram Jha and (14) Pt. Shri Chanda Jha, "Kavishwar."

of *dhoti* commanded great prestige in the society and received special treatment on ceremonial occasions. The Maharaja even thought of reorganising the whole educational system of his estate, and he invited the opinion of his officers engaged in teaching or otherwise interested in the subject. It is interesting to note in this connection that as early as the year 1900, Mr. Kripanath Majumdar, the headmaster of Raj High School, visualised the establishment of a Sanskrit University at Darbhanga. He thus observed, "I am averse to meddle with matters that do not concern me. But as Education is my province, I hope, I shall not be accused of meddlesomeness for the following suggestions. Under H. H. (His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga) the noble patron of Sanskrit literature and learning as Chancellor a Sanskrit University may be established. The pandits of H. H's Durbar may form the syndicate. Then a system of annual examinations may be established in different branches and titles granted to the successful candidates."²⁷

Besides these purely Raj Schools there were other independent and aided schools in the district about which we get incidental information in the educational records of the Raj. In Darbhanga town itself the Bengali community of the place started a Middle English School. Although it had been opened primarily for the benefit of the Bengali boys, Bihari students were also allowed admission there. Education was given in Bengali, English, Hindi and Urdu languages. Its chief credit, however, lay in the fact that it was the first school in the district which had a girls' class also. But the financial position of the school was not sound and at one time it was on the point of being closed when the Maharaja of Darbhanga came to its rescue. The school was not only given a suitable house free of rent but a monthly subscription of Rs. 40/- also.²⁸ Similarly there is a correspondence about the establishment at Patna of the Bihar branch of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Some Government officers, notably Mr. Halliday, the Commissioner of the Patna Division, and Mr. Grierson, the Collector, were very enthusiastic about it and had held meetings of the gentlemen of Patna with a view to raising necessary funds for the purpose. They wrote to various district officers to enlist the sympathy and help of the zamindars and other influential persons of their respective localities. They also moved the Government for grants. At Darbhanga a meeting in this connection was held in the Raj High School on the 15th September, 1884, under the presidency of the Collector of Darbhanga, Mr. J. C. Price. But strangely enough it was decided "to do nothing" in the matter.

27. Annual Report of the Raj High School submitted by the Headmaster in March 1900.

28. From the Manager, Raj Darbhanga, to the Secretary, Bengali Middle English School, dated the 22nd February, 1886.

SIR JOHN LAWRENCE AND OUDH CULTIVATORS

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By mid-nineteenth century, some of the servants of the East India Company had become critical of the Zamindari system. They had come to realise that the welfare of the occupier of the soil must be one of the principal objects of solicitude of the Government rather than the conciliation of a small and privileged class of landlords. Act X of 1859 was the result of the exertions of such officers.

Sir John Lawrence shared the views of those who took the side of the cultivators. His interest in the welfare of the peasantry was not theoretical but was the outcome of his personal experience. The various offices he held at Etawa, Gurgaon and in the Cis-Sutlej states enabled him to understand the intricacies of the land problem. To master the details of revenue work, he lived in his tent for seven or eight months amongst the agricultural classes, when he was posted as Collector at Panipat.

After the annexation of the Punjab John Lawrence was made a member of Punjab Board of Administration, in charge of the civil side. In this Board a controversy raged around the question of jagirdars between John and Henry Lawrences. Henry, who presided over the Board of Administration, was in favour of keeping the jagirdars in being while John was not in their favour, though even he did not like to strip them. The pressure of Henry's arguments made John's views moderate. Political expediency during the Mutiny induced John to recommend to Canning to adopt Taluqdari system in Oudh¹; this in no way changed his views about the rights of the occupier of the soil.

John Lawrence became a member of the India Council that came into existence in 1861. Even here, along with Frederick Currie, he championed the cause of the cultivating classes. During Lawrence's absence from India the Taluqdari system was being firmly rooted in Oudh by Charles Wingfield, the Chief Commissioner. He had made every possible attempt to annihilate the rights of the cultivating classes. The first blow struck at the rights of the village occupants was Wingfield's "Record of Rights" which ordered that all tenants at fixed rates be recorded as tenants at will.²

1. Lawrence to Wood, 4 March 1865. *John Lawrence Papers*.
2. Wood to Lawrence, 25 April 1865. *Wood Papers*.

When Wingfield, home on leave, submitted a copy of his 'Record of Rights' instructions to Sir Charles Wood, the then Secretary of State for India, Lawrence pressed for a discussion of the views contained in it, but Wood refused this on the ground that he had not received it officially. Wood, however, made a mention of it in his Political Despatch³, but without much comments.

With the coming of Sir John Lawrence as Viceroy of India in 1864 commenced a new phase in the history of the Oudh land question. Until then the official opinion was against all except taluqdars. Wingfield had had a free hand. But now he had to contend with an opposition serious in character.

Soon after his arrival Lawrence started a correspondence with Wingfield on the subject. It was in February 1864 that the first trumpet call for conflict was sounded by Durand, then Secretary in the Foreign Department of the Government of India. In a letter to Wingfield he commenced by declaring that a careful perusal of the official correspondence on the Oudh land question had been made by Sir John Lawrence, and that the Viceroy considered that the instructions contained in the Secretary of State's Despatches No. 33 of 24 April 1860 and No. 105 of 17 August 1861 had not been fully carried into effect. The letter went on to say that in the light of these despatches it had been decided that the subordinate rights of all classes of the people in the soil should be ascertained and defined.

It was the assertion of the Governor General that these instructions covered all rights under the taluqdar. These rights might be those of former proprietors, or hereditary tenants holding their lands at fixed rents, or at rents more advantageous in their character than those of mere tenants-at-will, or tenants with the simple right of occupancy.

The Governor General made it clear that though the Government had an unquestioned right to sacrifice its own rights in favour of the taluqdars, it had no right to sacrifice the welfare, or to bind itself not to remedy the sufferings, of other classes.⁴

Wingfield in his reply stated that the despatches of the Secretary of State, when viewed in connection with the previous correspondence between the Government of India and the Chief Commissioner, left little doubt that mere ryots were then under consideration.⁵ There was a general

3. No. 105 of 17 August 1861.

4. Secretary, Government of India to Secretary, Chief Commissioner, Letter No. 65 of 17 February 1864.

5. Wingfield to Durand. Letter No. 635 of 2 March 1864.

agreement among most of the officers of the Oudh Commission about the existence, by custom, of occupancy rights, vague and indefinite though they were.⁶ But Currie, the Settlement Commissioner, issued a memorandum suggesting that a right of occupancy, when unaccompanied by a right to hold at a fixed rate, was nothing but a mere shadow and that "when a right carries with it no privilege it appears to me better to ignore the right *in toto*, rather than to make a parade of investigation and recording its existence."⁷

Wingfield not only agreed with Currie but, changing his opinion, went still further. In a letter to the Government of India, the Chief Commissioner now for the first time denied that such rights had ever existed in Oudh. If no right of occupancy enforceable by law could be proved on the part of the non-proprietary cultivators, to confer such rights on them would surely be to rob those landlords whose *Sanads* provided only for the maintenance of rights previously enjoyed.⁸

The Chief Commissioner, while laying stress on the grant of *Sanads* to taluqdars in 1859, ignored the fact that the Government of India had reserved to itself at the time of grant the power to take measures for the protection of the village occupants.⁹ Canning had confirmed this view in his speech to the taluqdars, at Calcutta on 17 April 1861. "The preservation of the great families of the soil has been encouraged and facilitated, the rights of the humbler occupants have been protected."¹⁰

Wingfield, in fact, asserted, at first, that though tenants with the right of occupancy might exist, they had no rights superior to those of tenants-at-will; and he subsequently declared that no such right existed at all.¹¹

Sir John Lawrence was in favour of judicially fixing rents and recording the rights of all tenants found in possession of a right of occupancy. His view was clearly very different from that of Wingfield. He was very anxious to secure a peaceful settlement of this question. He, therefore, took the opportunity to meet Wingfield at Cawnpore in April 1864, where Sir Henry Maine, his chief adviser on this matter, joined them.

Lawrence, in spite of his best efforts, failed to bring round Wingfield who asked for time to consult the taluqdars. The taluqdars insisted that there be no change in the rules. This stand was reported to Lawrence in

6. See Collection No. I to Political Despatch No. 3 of 1865.

7. Foreign Proceedings (Rev.) Nos. 139-154 of February 1865. The memorandum has no date.

8. Wingfield to Durand, Letter No. 932 of 26 March 1864.

9. Government of India to Chief Commissioner, Letter No. 6288 of 10 October 1859.

10. Lawrence to Wood, 20 February 1865. *John Lawrence Papers*.

11. *Friend of India*, 2 March 1865.

a demi-official letter. The taluqdars were decidedly opposed "to the record of any non-proprietary cultivators, as possessed of a right of occupancy, and to the limitation of rent to be demanded during the term of the settlement."¹² Wingfield at the same time re-asserted his personal conviction about the non-existence of occupancy rights. He also tried to convince Lord Lawrence that the creation of tenant right was antagonistic to the policy inaugurated by Lord Canning. Thus both the taluqdars and Wingfield stood stubbornly against the Governor General's wish for a settlement.

There is no doubt that in the beginning most of the Oudh administrators and even the taluqdars had agreed to a limited occupancy right. Speaking about the cultivators the Rajah of Amethi had stated that "no doubt it is the custom that they should remain so long as they pay their rents."¹³ The stand now taken by the Chief Commissioner and the taluqdars was largely the result of outside prompting, fostered by sections of the English and Bengali Press. The taluqdars had established their own organ, the *Oudh Gazette*, with the help of a Bengali Brahmin, Babu Dukhinarunjun Mookerjee, to give vent to their views. The British Indian Association of taluqdars staged demonstrations. They were all the more encouraged as they knew that their views had the sympathy of the local administration.

On 28 May 1864, Lawrence replied to Wingfield. He sought to refute the views of Wingfield, and firmly restated his own. He desired to maintain the just rights of the taluqdars (no matter how they had acquired their lands), but at the same time he wanted to preserve the rights of others. He did not want to create any new rights in land. All he required was that the rights which flowed from long possession by general consent among the people should be recognised and recorded. He had no intention of extending Regulation X of 1859 to Oudh. But he observed that there would be no other alternative if the taluqdars did not consent to a fair agreement.¹⁴

Lawrence had now threatened the position both of Wingfield and of taluqdars. But Wingfield still stuck to his notions and was unmoved by the Governor General's letter. In his reply he once again denied the existence of occupancy rights, and informed Lawrence that the taluqdars would exhaust all legitimate means to oppose the introduction of Act X in Oudh.¹⁵

Wingfield had created one difficulty after another, and had virtually defied the Governor General. Lawrence now sought the advice of the Advocate General, to whom all papers relating to Oudh land question were

12. Wingfield to Lawrence, 16 May 1864. *John Lawrence Papers*.

13. Campbell, G., *Memoir of my Indian Career*, Vol. II, p. 52.

14. Lawrence to Wingfield, 28 May 1864. *John Lawrence Papers*.

15. Wingfield to Lawrence, 6 June 1864. *Ibid.*

forwarded. The Advocate General agreed with Lawrence's views and stated that the "Record of Rights" could not be treated as law and so there should be no objection to its modification.¹⁶

Before the Advocate General had given his decision, Sir John Lawrence had written a strong minute in which he openly attacked and accused Wingfield. "Ever since the reoccupation of Oudh, it has been the uniform aim of the Chief Commissioner to sweep away, as far as practicable, all subordinate rights and interests in the soil, in all the talookdaree villages of the province, so that there should be no intermediate interest between the talookdar and the mere tenants-at-will; and where he could not accomplish this, to restrict them into the narrowest limits. If the principles and policy of Wingfield were allowed to become law, the condition of the village proprietor and hereditary cultivators of the soil under British rule must gradually deteriorate."¹⁷

Lawrence therefore declared himself to be in favour of defining and recording these rights during the settlement. This would be "no new theory, no new practice, but one in accordance with our laws, and customs."¹⁸ So he proposed the introduction in Oudh of Revenue Regulations, more particularly Regulation VII of 1822, Regulation IX of 1833 and Act X of 1859. Maine and Harrington also suggested the introduction of Act X of 1859 in Oudh.¹⁹ Lawrence proposed the appointment of a Financial Commissioner, and insisted that there should be a fresh and impartial enquiry. This minute of Lawrence was sent to all members of Council for opinion.

The Council was divided over the issue. The issue to be decided was whether large bodies of the agricultural classes should or should not be left completely at the mercy of those on whom the late policy had conferred such solid advantages. Even the policy of Lord Canning had made it clear that all who held under the taluqdar should be secured in the possession of all the subordinate rights they formerly enjoyed. Lawrence felt that there was no bar, either in good faith or in law, to the recognition and registration of whatever rights of the cultivators could be proved to exist. In fact, no sufficient enquiry had been made. It was thus the duty of the Government "to make provision for the impartial hearing of all such claims."²⁰

The Office of the Financial Commissioner was revived. R.H. Davies, Secretary to the Government of Punjab, was appointed to this post. He was ordered to lose no time in revising the revenue circulars, so as to bring them into line with the foregoing orders.²¹

16. Advocate General to Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department, letter dated 13 September 1864.
17. Minute by Lawrence of 20 June 1864.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Lawrence to Wood, 8 March 1865, *John Lawrence Papers*.
20. Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department to Secretary, Chief Commissioner, No. 284 of 30 September 1864.
21. *Ibid.*

The taluqdars did their best to oppose the Government's action. The local papers criticised Lawrence and Davies. The *Englishman*, the *Indian Daily News*, and the *Delhi Gazette* followed suit. On 30 December 1864, the British Indian Association met to condemn the policy of Lawrence. They went so far as to publish a forged despatch in the name of Durand addressed to Davies. It appeared in the *Press*, a conservative paper, in London, and was taken therefrom by the *Oudh Gazette*. The despatch runs: "H.E. views with much displeasure the system which has sprung up in Oudh.... This system....has been based upon mistaken policy.....A total revision of the Sunnuds becomes necessary."²²

In the *Friend of India* the Viceroy's policy was attacked as being communistic. No dogma looked more socialistic and ruinous to them than the principle that a right of property might grow by twelve years' occupancy. Yet in the same editorial we come across the following: "It is difficult to conceive how the Viceroy could have acted in a manner more moderate and unprejudiced; and, with deference to those who think otherwise, we must confess that we see no cause why the territorial aristocracy of Oudh should be allowed any new right of rack-renting and evicting the populous peasantry of their lands."²³

One of the most powerful organs of the Conservative Party, in a series of articles, condemned in severe terms the measures of Sir John Lawrence in Oudh. "It seems", said the *Press*, that "the rights thus solemnly guaranteed Sir John Lawrence is now desirous of infringing.....and thereby take the most effectual means of subverting the independence of the taluqdars as landlords and destroying the ancient system under which they inherited their lands from their ancestors."²⁴

But Wingfield accepted Lord Lawrence's proposal and agreed to conduct a fresh enquiry.²⁵ Lawrence, relieved, wrote that the question of cultivators' right in Oudh would now be settled in a manner beneficial to all.²⁶

In England, the matter had attracted considerable attention. Lord Stanley²⁷ was very much alarmed by the letters he received from India. He thought that an overthrow of Canning's policy in Oudh was intended. Sir Charles Wood did his best to reassure him. At the same time he advised Lawrence to use prudence and caution in what he did.²⁸

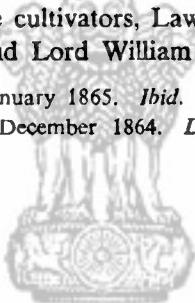
- 22. Quoted in Letter of 9 September 1865 to the Chief Commissioner.
- 23. *Friend of India*, 15 December 1864.
- 24. Sarvadikari, R., *The Taluqdari Settlement In Oudh*, pp. 83-84.
- 25. Wingfield to Lawrence, 26 October 1864. *John Lawrence Papers*.
- 26. Lawrence to Wingfield, 1 November 1864. *Ibid.*
- 27. Lord Stanley was the first Secretary of State for India. At this time he was a member (P.M.G.) of Palmerston's Government.
- 28. Wood to Lawrence, 8 November 1864. *Wood Papers*.

Even the Secretary of State had a divided Council on this issue. Stanley, who had given his support to Canning in his policy, was a bitter opponent of the new policy. Sir Charles therefore adopted a policy so conciliatory towards the critics in his Council that in effect he prejudged the issue against the tenants. He expressed a half-hearted approval of the enquiry which should prove very interesting and curious as well as instructive,²⁹ and showed great satisfaction at Wingfield's acceptance.³⁰

Nevertheless, Lawrence had succeeded in securing an enquiry. The part played by Lawrence in the struggle that ensued between the cultivators and the landlords was tremendous. Lawrence himself called it, "the best part of his Administration in India." Though he failed to achieve what he wanted, yet the credit of being a well-wisher of the common people goes to him. In spite of opposition from many quarters he tried his best to place the cultivating classes on a sounder footing. All through his Vice-royalty in India, Lawrence struggled hard to protect the cultivating classes. His attempts did not succeed completely but he did focus attention upon the problems of the cultivators which later generations were to tackle anew. For his work on behalf of the cultivators, Lawrence ranks with Lord Cornwallis, Sir Thomas Munro and Lord William Bentinck.

29. Wood to Lawrence, 7 January 1865. *Ibid.*

30. Wood to Lawrence, 10 December 1864. *Lawrence Papers.*



THE MAIN PROBLEM POSED BY MODERN ARCHIVES

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The problem of sheer physical bulk posed by modern archives is indeed a difficult one. Before entering into a detailed study of the subject, it would perhaps not be out of the way to attempt a few generalities, fix the limits of our study and come to a working understanding as to the connotation of the term 'Modern Archives' for purposes of this article. I shall restrict myself to only those documents which according to the definition of Archives as enunciated by Sir Hilary Jenkinson "are documents drawn up or used in the course of an administrative or executive transaction (whether public or private) of which they form a part; and subsequently preserved in their own custody for their own information by the person or persons responsible for that transaction and their legitimate successor." According to this definition all records created by public and private agencies fall within the purview of the term 'Archives'. But since the Government in any country is the biggest single unit in the creation of this mass of paper work, we shall confine ourselves to that side of the question and go no further.

We, by now, more or less recognise the distinctive qualities or features which go in the making of an archive, so let us turn attention to the second part (or is it the first?) of our subject Modern Archives. It is difficult to be dogmatic about the modernity of an archive. In different countries, it means different things. For example, in France all documents before the French Revolution of 1789 are considered as ancient and post-Revolution papers are classified as modern. The out of date in India is the Mutiny of 1857, after which the records are considered as fairly recent, as such modern. But this sort of division of Archives is carried out in every archival establishment, more from the point of view of their proper preservation and easier classification procedures etc., than due to their special claims to being ancient or modern.

What we are concerned with in this discussion is not the divisions peculiar to repositories but modern records in the true sense of the term or, in other words, *recent*. Perhaps we could be more specific and fix the first world war as roughly the limit for any records to be called modern. The statement appears rather arbitrary and capricious on the face of it but it soon loses its arbitrariness when we realise that it was only after this war that the archives began to take proportions which were beyond all human conception and

calculation. The Government in all its expanded and varied fields of activity was creating new records in such volume and variety as to be literally staggering. In more recent years the flood of paper has assumed the proportions of a deluge by the extension of State control and supervision into all manner of activity formerly delegated to private enterprise. In other words the modern concept of a Welfare State has rendered the task of the archivist more complex and unenviable.

Another factor responsible for the growth in the volume of records is the increase in human population. The population increase has made necessary an expansion in governmental activity with its inevitable effect on record production. Thus while the population has moved along in an arithmetical progression, the record production has gone up in a geometrical ratio.

The movement towards mechanisation of office work and quicker means of communication in the 20th century have swollen the streams of archives secretion. The advent of the typewriter and other devices of reproduction like the microfilm, the off-set, lithography etc. has contributed in no small measure to the bulk of records produced in the course of administration. To quote the U.S. example—on the basis of surveys conducted during recent years—it is estimated that the Federal Government produced during 1917—1950 about 20 times the volume of records created during all its previous existence; and to crown it all, it is producing each year double the total quantity that could be accommodated in the National Archives building. In England it was shown in 1951 that if all existing material destined for the Public Record Office were to be transferred thither, the storage accommodation at present available would have to be enlarged by 150% and that to house future accruals, a new building of the size of the present record office would have to be provided every 10 years. Here in India as well a situation not far different is developing and it has been found increasingly difficult to house the fresh accruals of the Government of India. As a matter of fact most of the departments are retaining their archives somehow or other due to the shortage of space in the National Archives.

To face this challenge of the modern archives, several plans, novel as well as revolutionary, began to take shape in various countries. In America they hit upon responsible intermediary custody in the shape of Federal Record Centres for all types of non-current records prior to their destruction or transfer to the National Archives and Records Service. The principal advantage of this system of records centres is that apart from assuring responsible custody during the transition period in trained hands, it relieved the central repository from pressure to accession records too recent, too

active or of doubtful enduring value. The archival law of 1st July 1949 has charged the National Archives and Records Service with the responsibility of establishing and supervising Federal Record Centres. There are at present 11 such full-fledged centres.

Towards the end of the last war, what is known as the 'limbo' system crept into the pattern of record administration in England. In order to conserve accommodation at the Chancery Lane repository for records of permanent value, it was decided to open a depot or a half-way house to entertain the non-current documents of those departments which desired to make use of it. The records were to be under the direct control of the departments themselves but the upkeep of the building was to be in charge of the Public Record Office. Such a repository was opened at Hayes, Middlesex.

In France the position is different inasmuch as according to the archival law of 1936 certain ministries like Foreign Affairs, War, Marine etc. are exempted from transferring their papers to the Archives nationales. In course of time these agencies have developed up-to-date, modern permanent repositories of their own to house their own archives. This certainly has relieved the Archives nationales from the burden of accessions to a great extent but even then the magnitude of the problem has obliged the central repository to spread out by reconstructing the old buildings around it on modern archival principles but retaining the ancient facade to tell the tale of yore. When the present building schemes materialise, the storage space of the French Central Archives will touch a record figure of 320 kilometers linear shelving.

सत्यमेव जयते

Coming to India we find that various schemes, novel and interesting, presented themselves to the Indian archivists as possible solutions for this recurrent problem of bulk. The extension of the present accommodation at the National Archives of India by the construction of an annexe is designed to provide an immediate remedy to the ailment. While the blue-prints were being studied and details worked out, another scheme more far-reaching in its dimensions suggested itself as a possible long-term solution—that of establishing Regional Record Offices. Though still in its infancy, this scheme envisages setting up of a network of subsidiary record offices in the country directly responsible to the central repository at New Delhi. Any comparison that this scheme may have with the Federal Record Centres in the United States or 'limbo' of the English pattern ends abruptly here because none of the central agencies are expected to transfer their non-current records to these far-flung depots. In other words, the regional record offices will serve only the expanding needs of the regions concerned and not those of the centre. Thus the only rational and practical solution in consonance with archival principles would be to set up one or two intermediary repositories in

Delhi or nearabout for all the non-current records of the Government, before their final transfer after weeding to the National Archives of India. Or alternatively each Ministry/Department should have its own intermediary record room where the non-current and semi-current records of the respective Ministry etc. should be properly maintained.

But the main problem for an archivist is the strictly practical one i.e. how to cope with the accumulations now existing and accruing in the offices of the governmental agencies. Few of the records need to be preserved but their very bulk complicates the process of deciding which should be preserved and which destroyed. It is here that the element of selection creeps in. Thus the major task of a modern archivist is to select archives for permanent retention and destroy those that are of ephemeral value. Paradoxically, his main work is the destruction of records rather than their preservation.

In 1954 the British Government, realising that the solution to the above problem must be sought, appointed a committee on departmental records under the chairmanship of Sir James Grigg. Its recommendations, more or less accepted in their entirety by the Government, are sufficiently known to the people and need not be repeated here, and I shall confine myself to their disposal procedures or their selection practices which are in a sense revolutionary and far-reaching. Each Department is to appoint an officer called Departmental Record Officer whose duty, apart from others, would be to make the First Review of records not later than five years after a paper or a file has passed out of active use. The papers that survive the first elimination are subjected to a Second Review after 25 years, this time in close collaboration with a representative of the Public Record Office. According to the Grigg Committee both the administrative and historical criteria will thus have been exercised directly in relation to the departmental papers.

In America the act of 19 June 1934 which created the National Archives entrusted it with much of the responsibility with reference to the disposal of worthless records. In order to make easier the process of disposals, the National Archives has worked out a system of scheduling records by types, with indications of the number of years for which the records of each type must be preserved. These schedules enable the offices to almost mechanically discard or keep the records as the case may be, without any further reference to the National Archives.

In France the liaison established between the Archives nationales and the record producing agencies results in efficient elimination of useless papers and orderly retirement of records of permanent value. Here too the disposal schedules have been carefully prepared in advance. The concurrence of the Archives nationales is prerequisite to any elimination or 'triage' programme.

Thus we find every archival building, be it Archives nationales, departmental archives, municipal or communal archives, provided with a 'salle de triage' where actual elimination of records takes place.

Now let us turn our attention to our own country and see what has been done in the matter of controlling the modern archives. Almost all the Ministries and offices of the Government of India retain a large number of closed and recorded files since there is no law, statutory or otherwise, making it obligatory for the record creating bodies to retire their non-current records regularly to the National Archives of India. This in itself would not be bad were it not for the almost deplorable storage conditions prevalent in most of the Departments.

The recommendations of the Weeding Sub-Committee appointed by the Local Records Sub-Committee seem useful and workable. Apart from recommending the control of records at their very inception, it suggests two reviews of records after 10 and 25 years on the lines suggested by the Grigg Committee. It thus follows that all the Ministries would retain with them their records up to 25 years, and only those among them which survive the second review and are considered to be of permanent value will be transferred to the National Archives of India.

Elimination of useless records is only a partial solution for reducing the bulk of modern archives. The possibility of reproducing modern records on microfilm and destroying the originals as a method of reducing the use of space has long been considered by archivists in western countries. The use of microphotography for archival purposes can be an economical proposition only if the capital and recurrent costs of making and storing the microfilms are less than the capital and recurrent costs of storing the originals. Independent studies carried out in France, England and America have proved beyond doubt that microphotography as a device for saving space is not an economic or worthwhile proposition. Further, acceptance of photographic reproduction as evidence in a court of law is still uncertain and who can vouch for the durability of microfilm? So all pros and cons considered, microphotography, though invaluable in itself, provides no solution for the acute problem of storage space created by modern archives.

The methods discussed in the article above to meet the problem of modern archives do not actually solve it. But a beginning has been made and what is more, archivists everywhere have become keenly aware of it. To find a satisfactory and lasting solution will no doubt take time and tax all human ingenuity and scientific skill.

SCRAPS FROM A SCRAP DEALER

G. H. KHARE

Curator and Secretary, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, Poona

(1) Shri P. R. Dhamdhere, M.A., a friend of mine, a member of the B.I.S. Mandal and a dealer in second hand books, brought to me on an evening in June 1959, a sample of Persian paper scrap from a scrap dealer for examination and my advice about its purchase. My scrutiny convinced me that the sample scrap included one or two old news-letters and I advised him to bring to me all the available scrap for further examination. The next day he brought to me four gunny bags of paper scrap. With the help of Shri Dhamdhere and another friend of mine I spent a few hours in picking out good material from the scrap and returned the weeded material to the dealer.

(2) The residue consisted of two types of papers viz., Marathi-Modi records and Persian documents. The Marathi-Modi records consisted of loose daily, monthly and yearly account and balance sheets, debt deed, Hundis, orders (monetary), and draft correspondence etc., original accounts forming the bulk. Persian documents contained a few stray leaves of Persian miscellaneous account sheets, original and draft correspondence and news-letters, the last category forming the bulk of this material.

(3) About the Marathi records there is one interesting fact worth mention here. In 1756 or so Balaji Bajirao had sent Trimbak Krishna Kanitkar (T.K.K.) and Janardan Apaji Erande (J.A.E.) to audit the accounts of Govindapant Bundele, a *mamlatdar* of Bundelkhand. The Erande family now resides at Wai, my native place. It is from this very family that the late V. K. Rajwade, the savant of Maratha History, rescued some letters and published them in the first volume of his series—*Sources of Maratha History*. As these records were once ransacked, only a few important letters remain now in this collection that are worth publication.

(4) I give below the details of the Persian documents worth mention found in the collection, especially the *Akhbars*.

Type	Number	Period Range
1. A. Darbar Wala etc.	.	1148 H and Julus year 15 of Shah Alam II
2. A. Darbar-i-Mualla	95	J. 12-42.
3. A. Mahadaji Shinde	11	J. 27

Type	Number	Period Range
4. A. Patel Bahadur	55	J. 25, 32, 33 ; 120H.
5. A. Lashkar-i-Patel Bahadur . .	15	J. 28-44
6. A. Mirza Ismail Beg Khan . .	14	J. 31, 32
7. A. Asaf-ud-daula . . .	15	J. 26, 31
8. A. Shah Nizam-ud-din . .	19	J. 31, 33
9. A. Sundry persons . . .	14	..
10. A. Sundry places . . .	11	J. 26, 27; 1119H.
11. A. Ihtisham-ud-daula . . .	3	J. 31
12. Letters and drafts . . .	50	..
13. Memoranda	20	..
TOTAL:	324	

(5) About the Persian section in general and the *Akhbars* in particular I may note here one interesting fact. I have examined the 3 *rumals* of Persian records deposited in the Alienation Office, Poona, and mentioned in its Handbook (P. 38). A majority of them are *Akhbars* of the above-mentioned and other types. I know about the records purchased some years ago by the Bombay Government from the Parasnisi family of Poona. They contain among others *Akhbars* of the above types. I know the Persian records in the collection of the Bharata Itihasa Mandala, my Society. They contain a number of such documents. It is, therefore, quite clear that all these documents from the four different sources belong to one and the same stock viz., the *Akhbars* and other correspondence. These were deposited either in the state archives of the Peshwas or with the several branches of the Parasnisi family of Poona, some members of which served the Peshwas as hereditary Persian writers. I am quite sure that if all these records are linked together chronologically, they will form an unbroken series of archives.

(6) It now only remains here to summarise some of the documents in both the languages and point out their historical bearing where required. I first take Marathi-Modi documents.

(7) The earliest Marathi document is M 4 which is undated but which can be ascribed to about 21-5-1760 A.D. It was addressed to Janardan-pant by Govinda Ballal Kher (G.B.K.). In it G.B.K. intimates that hearing about the turbulence of the Rangades of the Antaraved (Doab) he had proceeded thither and they had been suppressed to a certain extent, and requests him to send back the clerks of the revenue collectors after auditing the accounts. He also informs that the Rohillas and Abdali are at Koil. Jahankhan, Shahnawazkhan and Najibkhan had gone away to capture the fort of Agra; but defeated in this aim, they have proceeded to the other

side of the river Jumna. Bhausaheb has arrived at Narwar and will duly arrive at Gwalior. M. 5 & M. 6 are addressed by G.B.K. to Baba and Gangadhar, his sons, and are dated Bhadrapada Shuddha 9 and 12 (18 and 21 September 1760 A.D.) respectively. In these letters the former on being requested by the latter two for permission for a bath in the Ganges on the Kapila Shashthi day (a peculiar *Vadya* 6th of the month Bhadrapada) suggests that Gangadhar being weak should not be brought; only Baba and G.B.K's wife should at once start and first proceed to Umargad from Raipur, thence cross the river Sengar at either Musanagar or Mahur, come to Guloli and bring both T.K.K. and J.A.E. with him as the two have been requested and are sure to accompany. On arriving here, if possible he himself would accompany him to Brahmavarta or all of them would be sent thither for the bath. Out of the five fortresses to be captured four would come into his possession after the fall of Guloli which was quite imminent.' The latter letter is short and refers only to a few facts mentioned in the former. M3 and M2 are dated Bhadrapada *Vadya* 12 (6-10-1760 A.D.) and have been addressed by G.B.K. to J.A.E. and Baba, his son, respectively. The first is to the following effect: "I have arrived at Chachedi from Bithur and will proceed to Umargad, halt by halt whence I wish to proceed to Bhau's camp. The gist of M2 runs as follows: "I have started for Guloli by way of Ghatampur where some work is to be finished. The news about Delhi is to the following effect. The Maratha army attacked Kunjapura and had a fight with Qutbshah in which two thousand horses and two elephants have been captured. The fortress will soon fall though still holding against the Marathas. Shah Pasand Khan and four others have gone to Bhau for negotiating a treaty which is hoped to be concluded. I am proceeding to join Bhau." In *Rajawade*, Volume I, there is a letter of Bhau dated the 4th of Rubby the first (14-10-1760 A.D.) which expressly tells that as the Jumna was in high floods and as there was no chance of its speedy abatement he would be proceeding towards Kunjapura to capture it. G.B.K's letter appears to be of an earlier date. But it can be reconciled by assuming that Bhau's army (not Bhau himself) proceeded to Kunjapura earlier, invested it and had a successful fight with Qutbshah. M35 is dated Phalguna Shuddha 13 of Samvat 1817 (18-3-1761 A.D.) and informs us that Shrimant (Nanasahib or Balaji Bajirao Peshwa) is at *Bhilsa* (Central India) and Bhausahib is expected to appear soon, when everything will be alright as he is a man of strong character and ability. M33 was despatched from Poona, is dated Jyeshtha Shuddha 11 of Saka 1683 (13-6-1761 A.D.) i.e. just 10 days before the demise of Balaji Bajirao and informs that both Balaji Bajirao and Raghunath Bajirao are conferring incessantly together, and though not finally decided the latter would probably take over the charge of administration. Sakharampanta is mediating for the latter. M1 is dated Chaitra Shuddha 5 (20-3-1762 A.D.) and was written by one Hari Apaji. Its gist runs thus. I met Malharji Holkar a few days ago. He came to Etawa yesterday, drove the Rohillas

out of it and has invested the fortress. The Pindaris have plundered the town. Gangadharpana is proceeding on an expedition towards Kora.

(8) The earliest Persian document appears to be the 2nd sheet of a news-letter of Darbar-i-wala and Dar-ul-Khilafat i.e. Shahjahanabad or Delhi and is dated the 17th of Ramzan 1178H (10-3-1765 A.D.). It is very interesting to note that the first and the third sheets of this very news-letter are in my Society and are now under print and its last sheet is still missing. As it forms only a part of the whole document, it is of no use to translate only this part. But it may suffice to mention here that the following persons and places have been referred to in the nine paragraphs of this part of the document. Darulkhilafat, Malhar (Holkar), Imad-ul-mulk, Najib-ud-daula, Zabitakhan, Shah, Sarhind, Lahor, Javahirsingh, Madhosinhg, Shuja-ud-daula, Purshottam Pandit, Merath, Ekoji (Rangoji?). Sambali, Kalim-ul-allah, Ruparam Katara, Gangadhar Pandit, Bapu Pandit, Panipat, Sonepat, Shah Abdali, Shah Wali Khan, Ganga, Anupshahr, Brindaban, Kumher, Sikandarabad, Jahangirabad, another Madhosinhg, Tarasingh, Ahmadkhan Bangash, Farrukhabad, Shrimanta Dadasahib, Sultankhan, Saharanpur, Afdalkhan, Dhampur, Sherkot, Kulikhan, Najibabad, Dilaram.

(9) P. 253 is a news-report despatched by Sevakaram to Madhava Rao Peshwa and is dated immediately after the 16th of Ziqada 1183H, the last date mentioned in the body of the letter. The gist of the document runs thus: Four sheets of application together with sheets of news reports were sent to your excellency supplying information up to the 5th of Ziqada 1183H, which must have been received and perused by your excellency. Now on Saturday the 6th of the above month, this servant, Babaji Pandit and Bhagvantrao Jagtap, in response to the summons of the Nawab, went to his darbar, whereupon the Nawab asked us as to why there should be such delay in the arrival of the Sardars and Mahadaji Shinde to join the imperial army in spite of the express orders of the Peshwa. He said "Listening to the advice of Shrimant I have become a true and fast friend of His Excellency for a year now. I have entrusted all the administration of my jagir to Zabitakhan and retired. But taking into consideration the promise which I had given to Malharji Holkar several times, I have come out of retirement. If we meet according to agreement I shall stand against the Rohilla, Sikh and Jat generals who are the heads of India. They have assembled without Bel Bandar and Quran being mutually exchanged. I hope nothing untoward happens. At present the Sikhs have suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Nawalsingh Jat and if the sardars of the victorious army reach here in all haste, it will be in every way to the interest of the State and the country." We three made every effort to soothe the mind of the Nawab and communicated all this *in extenso* to Rao Ramchandra Ganesh. The Nawab arranged for a daily allowance of Rs. 30 (thirty)

to both Babaji Pandit and Bhagwantarao from this very day. Narayanrao vakil has not been allowed to attend the darbar for five or six days (illegible). But all (of the nobles) in his absence represented to the Nawab that the Shrimant had sent a permit to the servant (writer?) and a letter to the heads of the Sikhs which was shown to the Nawab. The Nawab was to a certain extent upset and said to the Munshi. "We stick to the agreement firmly but this vakil represents differently." At last according to the advice and recommendations of this servant and the two Pandits, he summoned Narayanrao on the 7th instant, presented Rs. 400 and a *Dushala*, permitted him to return, but told him that during the last 7 months, 4 letters for sending him back had been received and that his honour would be saved by his speedy return. But by the 15th instant he has not left the place. On this very date, it is heard that Thakur Subbaram and Jayaram sent by Ranjit Singh Jat went to Ramchandra Ganesh and Tukoji Holkar encamping on the bank of Banganga, 5 kos to this side of the fort of Vir, saw and presented them Rs. 2 lakhs, 6 horses and two sets of robes of honour. They entered into an agreement promising to pay Rs. 30 lakhs on condition that the kingdom of Dig and Bharatpur is taken away from Nawalsingh who rules it at present and who is the elder brother of Ranjitsingh, and is given to Ranjitsingh, after which Subbaram and others returned. On the 16th instant it was reported to the Nawab that Ranjitsingh had an interview with Ramchandra Ganesh. The Nawab, therefore, according to the representation of this servant and Babaji Pandit started from Najibabad on Thursday, the 16th instant and halted at the town of Kirtipur at a distance of 7 kos from Najibabad. In a period of 9 months that have elapsed since my taking leave of Your Excellency, I have not received a single *dam* from the Nawab except a hundred rupees and the question of expenses was not referred to the Nawab. Babaji Pandit and Bhagvantrao found out a way of defraying their expenses through Parshadram; but this servant has incurred a debt of Rs. 500 for Narayanrao for which sum a Hundi may be issued, and a parwana addressed to Ramchandra Ganesh asking him to avail of the services of this servant for the talks with the Nawab may kindly be sent.

(10) P. 263 is a letter of remonstrance, dated 9 August 1785 A.D., sent by W. H. Boddam to Madhavarao Narayan, the 6th Peshwa. After formal reiteration of the mutual friendship, it refers to a high-handed act of the Peshwa's Kamawishdar of Orpad and gives the details of the act thus. On the 2nd of June or the 23rd of Rajab, a ship of the trader John of the port of Surat, while entering the port of Orpad dashed against sand unfortunately. After hearing this news the owner of the ship, with a number of men went to the ship, disembarked some cargo from it with a view to refloat it by his own efforts and the task was practically accomplished. Under these circumstances looking to humanity, the 14th article of the treaty of Purandhar and the 11th article of the treaty of Salbai it was the duty of the Kamawishdar to help (the owner of) the ship as much

as he could. But instead of it, the Kamawishdar sent troops and imprisoned the men on the ship as well as on the shore and sent them to Orpad. (The owner of) the ship suffered a loss of Rs. 30,000. The Kamawishdar even wished to destroy the ship by every means. If the *sardar* of the port had sent some men to protect the ship, there would have been a clash and the Kamawishdar would have found an excuse to do more harm; from among the imprisoned men of the ship, six persons appointed by this Government for the protection of the ship have also been sent to Orpad after being imprisoned with all impudence. The fact has been brought to Your Excellency's notice. Your Excellency should think over the matter and just see how the Kamawishdar has violated the articles of the treaties, how the subjects of this Government have suffered a loss and how the servants of this Government have been imprisoned. Your Excellency may be pleased to do the needful in the matter and issue orders to your servants to abide by the articles of treaties in future.



REBELLION IN MANIPUR, 1891

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The account of the rebellion in Manipur in 1891, as given by the British historians,¹ is, as in many other similar instances, very inaccurate and misleading, as it represents only the official version. A more reliable version is given by two Indian writers,² but it appears that even these have not consulted all the available records on the subject. The document published below throws some new light on the whole tragedy. It is now preserved in the National Archives of India, which also contains several other documents of great importance on the subject. It will be possible to write a critical and comprehensive account of the events in Manipur in 1891, with the help of these documents. My present object is to draw the attention of scholars to the fact that the single document published here reveals new facts and circumstances which were evidently not known to the learned author of the latest History of Manipur published only a year ago. The document, here published, is not referred to in this book and, so far as I know, has not yet been published.

It begins by giving a long list of services rendered to the British by Manipur Raj in general and Tikendrajit in particular, including the "fighting with the rebels during the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 and giving aid in troops."³ It then describes in detail how the Political Agent, Mr. Grimwood, kept secret the real object of the visit of the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Quinton, and disarmed the suspicion of the royal family of Manipur by false stories. It also gives a realistic account of the indignities to which the Raja of Manipur and Tikendrajit were subjected, how the latter got suspicious of the real motive of the British and contrived to evade the ingenious trick devised by Mr. Quinton for his arrest. The document gives an altogether new version of the attitude of the Raja as regards the decision of the British Government to banish Tikendrajit. According to the current account it was the inability or unwillingness of the Raja to banish Tikendrajit that led to all the troubles. But according to this document the Raja agreed to banish Tikendrajit, but asked for two or three days' time. This is a very vital point in forming a decision on the British action, and when we remember that this document was a petition

1. Cf *Cambridge History of India*, Vol VI, P.501; P.E. Roberts, *History of British India* (1938), P. 486; V.A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, pp. 765-6.
2. Mukunda Lal Chaudhuri *Manipur Itihas*, (in Bengali); Jyotirmoy Roy, *The History of Manipur* (May, 1958).
3. This statement is quite true. The 34th Native Infantry mutinied at Chittagong on 18 November, 1857, and, passing through Sylhet and Cachar, turned towards Manipur. At the request of the Political Agent, the Raja of Manipur sent a body of troops, captured a number of mutineers, and handed them over to the British authorities.

sent to the Government of India, it is difficult to believe that the petitioners would make a statement which could be easily proved to be false by them.

The detailed account that follows of the sudden and unprovoked attack on the Manipur palace by the British troops during the night constitutes the chief importance of the document. The outrages committed by the British troops, including desecration of a temple, really set ablaze the flame that destroyed the British officers as well as the Manipur State. So this portion requires close scrutiny.

The document gives at least a plausible reason for the delay on the part of the Raja in sending a reply to the letter of the British. Besides, it gives a detailed account of the murder of the British officers and fastens the entire responsibility on the old general Tongol (Thangal), an old man of ninety, who wielded great authority in the State, and had a private grudge against Grimwood, the Political Agent, one of the victims, for having seduced his daughter and kept her as his mistress. Tongol, to avenge himself, had Grimwood killed first.

Mr. Simpson, the next officer to be speared, was guilty of the same offence, and a plausible explanation is given of the motives leading to the murder of the other three. This reveals an altogether new aspect of the whole case, and whatever we might think of it, shows the need of further investigation of the whole affair.

A vigorous attempt is made to prove that Tikendrajit was innocent in regard to the murder of the British officers, and it was Tongol, who, for reasons stated, cried for blood.⁴

There are two other points of note. The first is the letter of General Collett to the Raja asking him to surrender, but adding that "There is no certainty of escaping with life even if you surrender yourself". This undoubtedly stiffened the resistance of the Raja and Tikendrajit. The next important point is that the Raja, Tikendrajit and other members of the royal entourage surrendered of their own accord, though some people received reward on the false pretence of having captured them.

This document undoubtedly is the version of an interested party, and cannot, therefore, be implicitly trusted. But we have no right to regard it as less reliable than the official version, which is also partisan in

4. General Tongol might have even a stronger motive for killing the British officials, if there is any truth in the popular belief, at Manipur, that he was one of the mutineers, referred to in the preceding footnote, who escaped and took service in the Manipur State. cf. Col. L.W. Shakespear, *History of Assam Rifles*, ch. V, p. 64.

character and therefore suffers from the same defect. A true historian must take into account both the versions and try to assess the value of each in the light of other available material. The present paper is intended only to evoke the interest of the scholars in this direction, and has no pretence to a final judgment on the British Government's action or the charge against Tikendrajit, for which he paid the extreme penalty of law.

Foreign Department Secret E. September 1891, No. 130

No. 130

Translation of a petition from the mothers, sisters, sons, daughters, other relatives, servants, subjects, etc., of Maharaj Kula Chandra Dhoaja Singh and Jubraj Tikendrajit Bir Singh of Manipur, to the address of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, dated the 26th June 1891.

After compliments.—With due respect we humbly beg to state that the Governor-General in Council will (we hope) again take into their consideration whether it was just on the part of Government to issue orders to allow Maharaj Kula Chandra Dhoja Singh to continue to rule, and to banish the Jubraj Tikendrajit Bir Singh, after listening to one party's representation without calling for any reply or statement from the other party—a representation which Sura Chandra Singh and his brothers made to His Excellency the Governor-General after their arrival at Calcutta where they went with the pretext of going to Brindaban having lost the State on account of the accusation of causing disturbances which occurred on the 22nd of September last, owing to the long-standing ill-feeling and fraternal disaffection which existed amongst the former Maharaj Sura Chandra Singh of this State, his younger brother Thambau Singh Samu Hanjoba, viz., the keeper of elephants, Paka Singh Sagol Hanjoba, viz., the keeper of horses, and the under-mentioned persons with the aid of Gopal Sena, viz., the present Maharaj Kula Chandra Dhoja Singh, the former Jubraj, the present Jubraj Tikendrajit Bir Singh, the former Senapati, the present Senapati Angau Singh, the former Dolorai Hanjoba, the Superintendent of Chaturdol, and the youngest brother Zila Gumba.

Since the restoration of peace in this State on account of the expulsion of the Burmese robbers by the aid of the British Government during the regime of the late Maharaj Gambhir Singh when the Manipuri people were subjected to oppression by the Burmese enemy, friendship was maintained up to this time, in accordance with treaty engagements, and on account of this, the late Maharaj Gambhir Singh on account of his power caught hold of the Khassia Raja, who showed enmity to the British

Government, and thus became their enemy and delivered him to Government, although he (Khasia Raja) was no enemy to the State of Manipur. The late Maharaj Chandra Kirti Singh did good to Government by fighting with the rebels during the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 and giving aid in arms and troops. During the Lushai war, the said Maharaj went personally to the Lushai country and assisted Government by fighting there. He caused to be arrested Chahi Ahum, a Manipuri Prince, who having acted against Government had come to Manipur to take refuge, and made him over to Government. At the request of Government he destroyed the villages of the Nagas, who had murdered two British subjects and lived near the Thana at Mau. The Angami villages in the Naga Hills were

This all might be very relevant if addressed to us on behalf of the claim of the ex-Maharaja Sura Chandra Singh to be restored: but it has no bearing on the present question. A.E.M.

from olden times included in the Manipur State, but at the request of Government, he ceded them to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India. During the Naga Expedition in 1878, the then Jubraj Sura Chandra Singh and (the then) Kotwal Tikendrajit Bir Singh arrived at Kohima within 24 hours with 1,000 Manipuri troops, punished the Nagas, and saved the lives of Major Reid of the 43rd Regiment, Mr. Cowley, the Police Superintendent, his wife, son and daughter, the wife of the late Mr. Damant and the Military Officers of Government. During the Burmese war General Balaram Singh of the Manipur State fought, and having captured the Raja of Kendat made him over to Government. In addition to the above the Raja gave aid from time to time during the Burmese and Lushai wars by furnishing supplies and more than a thousand of labourers. The Manipur State never showed hostility towards Government. All persons, whether the Raja or the subjects, have all along yielded obedience to the Political Agent, the representative of Government. The Maharaj, the Jubraj, Raja's brothers, the Minister and the subjects, i.e., everybody would have carried out Government orders of any kind with pleasure, even if they were communicated simply by a single letter, and no matter whether those orders were just or unjust. When such was the case, it behoves Government to reconsider whether it was right to send 200 troops with Captain Cowley by way of Cachar, and 435 sepoys with the Chief Commissioner of Assam via Kohima, instead of communicating by a letter the orders about the expulsion of the Jubraj Tikendrajit Bir Singh. Be it known that on the night of 22nd September last, Sura Chandra Singh quitted the Palace and took refuge in the Political Agent's bungalow, and that on a telegram being sent to the Chief Commissioner, he, with the permission of Government, and in reply to the telegram, sent Sura Chandra Singh to Cachar with 40 sepoys on the 24th, and made Kula Chandra Dhoja Singh the Raja, and Tikendrajit Bir Singh the Jubraj, through the Political Agent.

When the late Mr. Grimwood, the Political Agent, was asked why the late Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, was coming to

Manipur all of a sudden, having kept his proposed visit secret, on an untimely tour of inspection, accompanied by an unusual number of troops and 12 British Officers, he said that the Chief Commissioner would go to Tammu for some special purposes, and that we should keep 100 coolies ready for his assistance. The Tongal General was deputed to Mau Thana at a distance of six days' journey within this territory with a view to give a reception to the Chief Commissioner. The senapati Angao Singh was sent as far as Sengmai Thana, the first stage. The Chief Commissioner sent a letter from Sengmai Thana on 21st March to the effect that he would hold a Darbar in the Residency at 12 o'clock the following day, and communicate some secret order. The Jubraj Tikendrajit having had no suspicion went out of the town the next morning as far as the Koirangkai stream, four miles off, and met the Chief Commissioner, while the Maharaj attended by the Ministers went as far as the gate of the rajpat and met that officer. He, Chief Commissioner, again said that he would reach the Residency at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 and hold a Darbar at 12 o'clock, though it was a Sunday. That being an ekadashi—fasting day, Jubraj Tikendrajit, without taking a bath and food went to the Residency gate, before anybody had gone there, at the appointed time, with a view to attend the Darbar, but the sentinels at the gate kept him standing outside in the sun as the Chief Commissioner was not ready. In the meantime armed sepoy's in the Residency were seen drawn in lines both in front and at the back of the Residency bungalow, and the British officers were making inspection on all sides on horseback. On account of those unusual preparations, the Jubraj, thinking that a trick was being played for his capture by calling it a Darbar and feeling tired, moreover having had to wait half an hour in the sun, returned to the pat. After this the Maharaj accompanied by Zila Gumba and the Ministers arrived at the Residency, and had to remain standing in the sun below the steps for half an hour. Subsequently when he had remained standing in the verandah for an hour and a half, he wanted to sit feeling tired. It was then that Mr. Grimwood allowed him to sit in another room. Having thus waited for three hours, and not being able to have an interview with the Chief Commissioner for the purpose of knowing the secret order of Government, he returned to the pat disappointed. It is worth the consideration of Government as to whether or not this behaviour of the Chief Commissioner was right.

After such a treatment Mr. Grimwood and Lieutenant Simpson of the 43rd Regiment went to Jubraj's house the same afternoon, and the next morning to persuade him to see the Chief Commissioner by using conciliatory words, but, as the Jubraj was ill, the interview did not take place. In the afternoon of the 23rd of March, Messrs. Grimwood and Simpson saw the Maharaj inside the pat and communicated (to him) the secret order to learn which everybody was eager. The purport of the order is as follows:—"Maharaj Kula Chandra Dhoja Singh is confirmed in the Rajaship. The Jubraj will be banished from Manipur until further orders.

from Government." At that time the Maharaj offered hundreds of thanks to Government, and told them that, as the Jubraj had gone as far as the Koirangkai stream and returned from that place, while he was undergoing a fast the day before on account of the ekadashi ceremony, and as on account of the return of the colic pain from which he was suffering for a long time on account of his having remained at the Residency gate in the intense heat of the midday sun, he was unable to go on account of illness; he would make preparations for leaving Manipur in two or three days after suitable arrangements were completed for his family. After night-fall the Maharaj, in consultation with his brothers and Ministers, came to the conclusion that he would apply to Government the next morning in regard to the Jubraj through the Chief Commissioner, but before it dawned, a body of British troops leaped over the wall in the northwest corner of the Pat and attacked Jubraj's house. The Jubraj considering this a calamity fled through a hidden path and took refuge in the Pat. On the other side the sepoy put to death some of the guard people, women, boys, girls and male and female servants, attacked the temple of the household God, called Brindaban Chandra, stole the jewels dedicated to the idol, and having gone up the temple fired at the Pat. Another body (of troops) entered the village lying east of the Pat, and put to death Dasu Sardar and his whole family. They burned down 10 or 12 houses adjoining his own. In these houses idols, cows and boys and girls were killed. They murdered way-farers—subjects who were frightened and fleeing. It was then that Jubraj took up arms with a view to save the lives of the excited subjects and especially in self-defence. The fighting having continued the whole day on both sides, many persons were killed and wounded. After night-fall when the British troops had expended all their ammunition, the fighting ceased on both sides just at the sounding of the British bugle to "cease fighting." When such was the case, Government will (kindly) consider whether the Chief Commissioner was right in breaking the long-standing friendship by making such a sudden attack at the end of the night, by perpetrating such outrages and by fighting, instead of waiting for two or three days more.

After the fighting had ceased the British officers sent a letter in English. At that time there was no English-knowing person within the Pat. The letter was therefore sent to Maharaja's fugitive Clerk at a distance of three miles for translation. For this reason much delay occurred. But Mr. Grimwood became eager to get a reply, and therefore after a discussion of matters through messengers, it was resolved that a Darbar should be held within the Pat. Five Englishmen attended by bugler entered the Pat unarmed. The Jubraj, Angao Mingthao and Tongal General held the Darbar in front of the Darbar Hall along with the English gentlemen. The Englishmen proposed to go to Kohima, but the question of laying aside arms having arisen they were unwilling, wherefore they were prepared

to go back by breaking up the Darbar. The Jubraj returned to the top-guard. No sooner the English gentlemen got to the door of the Darbar Hall than the Manipuris at a hint given by Tongal General attacked them. At first Mr. Grimwood was killed and Mr. Simpson was wounded, and they fell down. On hearing clamour and outries the Jubraj came back from the top-guard, sent away the attackers, placed the three English gentlemen in the Hall and carried the wounded, Mr. Simpson, himself into the Hall. But he allowed the dead body of Mr. Grimwood to remain where it fell, knowing that if he touched it he would have to perform the atonement ceremony. He said that he would enable the English gentlemen to reach the Residency as soon as the excited people became somewhat tranquil. Had he had any intention to put the four Englishmen to death, and had he killed them at the time instead of placing them in the Darbar Hall, who could have opposed him? The wounded Mr. Simpson wanted water to drink. At that time he (the Jubraj) saw Jatra Singh, who knows Hindi to a certain extent, present there, and ordered him to bring water and give it to him. Jatra Singh made Mr. Simpson drink water and tied the wounded part with his own head-dress. All these details have been proved by the evidence of Jatra Singh. Due consideration by Government is necessary.

At that time having heard gun-reports from the south he went away, especially to those places where guns were placed opposite to (lit. in front of) the Residency, and was prohibiting the firing when Uchehhaba and Jatra Singh came running to him and told him, that Tongal General had given orders to put the Englishmen to death. The Jubraj became dumb-founded, and instantly he heard of this he told them to prohibit him, and he himself went to Tongal in the top-guard. After he had a long quarrel with Tongal, the General kept lying down without making any motion whatever, and in a listless manner, as if he foresaw what the result of this massacre would be. Having seen him in that state, the Jubraj appointed the old and principal Minister, Angao Mingthao (he is a Raja working under the Maharaja), Giridhari Singh, and eight sentinels to keep the English gentlemen in safety, and as he felt knocked up on account of the fight, he was engaged in though he was ill, and had no food the whole day, he gradually became insensible and slept for three or four hours on his seat in the top-guard. Finding the Jubraj asleep, the artful Tongal sent for the Lami executioners secretly and told them to put the Englishmen to death, saying that such was the order Jubraj had given. The dreadful thing occurred at 2 A.M. In the meantime the Englishmen, the lady and the troops who were in the Residency, thought that as the English gentlemen had not returned though long time had passed; they must have been made captives, and commenced fighting again. A little while after this the British troops quitted the Residency and marched

towards Cachar. Then the Manipuris plundered the Residency and set fire to it. Finding that victory had been gained, the Senapati, Angao Singh, began firing guns, the thundering din of which woke up Jubraj. He asked for the reason of all this. Learning all the particulars, especially the murder of the English gentlemen, he felt sorry and kept silent for a long time. Then full of ire he sought for Tongal, but the latter had before deeply into mirth and merriment by taking with him in a boat on the Maharaj all the particulars. The Maharaj reprimanded him severely and told him to bring Tongal into his presence. Tongal is very old and is "Ingdu," *i.e.*, grandfather in relation. On his death-bed the late Maharaj Chandra Kirti Singh made his sons take oath, promising that they would never do any wrong to, or even pass judgment against, the old General Balaram Singh and Tongal General. Remembering his father's instructions, the Maharaj thought that he had no power to punish him in any way but he rebuked him much.

About two years ago General Balaram Singh died, but Tongal aged about 90 years and an old "grandfather" is still alive. He is born of a most humble family, having been born of a Manipuri woman kept by an Assamese Sonari. Such a mongrel is naturally clever and mean-hearted. Tongal knows how to speak Hindi and Bengali. Manipur does not possess a single educated man. The knowledge of Hindi is considered a great qualification. With this qualification the shrewed Tongal endeavoured to keep the English gentlemen pleased and in time became their favourite. One who becomes a favourite of the English becomes a favourite of the Maharaj also. Consequently Tongal gradually rose to the rank of General by Royal favour. Mean men grow in meanness with their age. Tongal became renowned for his bad counsels only, but the ignorant Manipuris could not understand this. Once he meditated upon the murder of 80 men. When 19 men were killed, Major-General Balaram coming to know of this opposed him and saved the rest of the number. When Government heard of this they instituted enquiries, but the matter was hushed up by making many excuses; when a young man, Tongal was an immoral man. His sons also inherited their father's character, for instance, one of his sons, Lamphen by name, died in October last from venereal disease—the result of lasciviousness. He has a beautiful daughter aged 20 years in an unmarried state. On account of the father's merits, the daughter has learnt something to read and write, knows Bengali and Hindi and a few English words. At first she had illicit intercourse with Bengalis and then with Englishmen.

Mr. Grimwood was lazy and unwise. Having taken charge of the Political Agency from Mr. Primrose in April 1888, he remained idle in the bungalow during the rainy months, and drew his pay for doing nothing. Roads became nearly impassable on account of want of supervision. When Mr. Aitchison a former Deputy Surgeon-General of Assam,

came to Manipur on a tour of inspection, he reported on the bad state of the road; and Mr. Grimwood was accordingly considered inefficient and transferred to Jorehat in Assam to work as an Assistant Commissioner. Mr. Heath took over charge of the Agency in February 1889. Mr. Grimwood left Manipur shedding tears. On account of some grave mystery, Mr. Heath fell ill with diarrhoea on 14th February and died on 4th April. No Civil Surgeon could attend on him, but Lachman Parshad, the Native Doctor of the Residency Hospital, only attended on him. The morning after Mr. Heath's demise, the Civil Surgeon of Kohima came to Manipur and buried the dead body. The cause of the untimely death of Mr. Heath, therefore, remained hidden.

In the meanwhile, just after her arrival at Jorehat, Mrs. Grimwood went to Shillong to enjoy the climate of the place. There she formed acquaintance with English gentlemen and got her husband his former good appointment on the death of Mr. Heath; Mr. Grimwood came back to Manipur in May 1889, but the Memsahib (Mrs. Grimwood) being separate from her husband from March to December and April to December of 1890, i.e., 19 months in two years, enjoyed herself in the Shillong hills. As regards the Sahib, he, availing himself of the opportunity, plunged deeply into mirth and merriment by taking with him in a boat on the Residency tank "Laishcibis," i.e. beautiful girls who can be had without much effort, by sporting with girls while in tanks or streams, and by taking obscene photographs. The Political Agent is all in all (lit. Killer, master and disposer) in Manipur; so Tongal's beautiful and gay daughter became Mr. Grimwood's sweetheart. Trampling down shame and fear she began to go to, and come from the Residency in broad daylight. When people saw and heard of this, they spoke vile things against Tongal in his absence. Tongal, who was proud of his fame, took this to heart, and, therefore, on the breaking up of the Darbar on the night of the 24th March, and after the Jubraj had left for the top-guard, he remained behind, and with a view to avenge himself instigated the people to murder Mr. Grimwood first.

A month before this mishap, Mr. Simpson of the 43rd Regiment lived in Mr. Grimwood's bungalow. At this period Mrs. Grimwood was at Manipur. The people came to know of the acquaintance and intrigue which the young man, Mr. Simpson, and Tongal's daughter had between them, and they gave it out to the prejudice of Tongal's name. This is the reason why Mr. Simpson was struck with a view to despatch him also just after Mr. Grimwood was struck. He had, however, then escaped being only wounded. Offenders always use their best endeavours to keep their offences quite hidden. Of the five Sahibs one was killed, another was

wounded. Should the remaining three gentlemen (be allowed to) live, it would be made known that at the instigation of Tongal only, Mr. Grimwood was killed and Mr. Simpson was wounded. Consequently, when the Jubraj was asleep after being free from anxiety by appointing the Prime Minister Angao Ningthao (Ningthau, viz., a Raja), Giridhari Singh (this gentleman is Jubraj's intimate friend, and father of Bata Sangi Kali Singh, who is equal in years with the Jubraj) and other men to look after them, Tongal, who is a cruel-hearted person, considered it the best opportunity and instigated the people to put the remaining Sahibs and the bugler to death. The cause of this is that besides these five persons, there was no one else on the side of Government within the Pat at that time; all the Manipuris will at last be considered guilty, and no one (from among them) will give this out; they would even support the powerful Tongal's statement. Consequently Tongal ordered the murder of the English gentlemen with a view to destroy evidence, and sent his own servant Iront Khoiba to get the executioners through Lalup Chingba. The Maharaj having rebuked him the next day for this reason, he made up his mind to give out that the Englishmen were killed in the fight. Tongal is himself a General, and one of his sons is a Subedar and another son, a Jamadar. Consequently they have under them many men, and no one dares say a word against them. Tongal is the richest man in Manipur, and so most of the people are in his hands.

Tongal is a real well-wisher of Sura Chandra Singh. His late son Lamphen Singh was Sura Chandra Singh's Secretary, but as shrewd Minister's policy is to maintain friendly relations with the victorious party, he earned the confidence of Kula Chandra Singh and Tikendrajit Bir Singh by outwardly speaking ill of Sura Chandra Singh's partisans and showing friendship (to the Maharaj and the Jubraj). On the other hand he always schemed as to how a calamity could be brought on the present Raj and maintain friendship by secretly corresponding with Paka Singh, brother of Maharaj Sura Chandra Singh, who is at Calcutta. The Princes of this place, however, could not detect the shrewd old man's tricks up to this time, and, therefore, they entrusted him with State affairs and consulted him in internal matters. The fight which took place on 24th March was begun with the advice and instigation of Tongal. This deceitful man explained matters to the Englishmen in one way, and advised the State people in another way. The frightful catastrophe was the result of this his behaviour only.

After the termination of the war, a telegram and a letter giving full particulars were sent to Government on 26th March. The Jubraj then set free the British troops and subjects who were captured and imprisoned, gave them food and raiment, and sent them to their destinations after furnishing them with road-expenses and escorts. Although the Maharaj

wrote to Government making entreaties and praying for justice, yet Government without desisting sent innumerable troops by way of Kohima, Cachar, and Tammu. The letter, which General Collett wrote to the Maharaj on 25th April from Sengmai Thana, asking him to surrender, contained the following:—"There is no certainty of escaping with life even if you surrender yourself." The Princes, consequently, through fear of death, hid themselves for a few days in the hills and jungles far off. With the intention of delivering themselves up they made Partha Singh, a Manipuri inhabitant of Cachar and a Police Subedar who retired on pension, their spokesman and made their appearance. But Partha Singh and Khe-lendra Singh, a Manipuri inhabitant of Sylhet, and a Police Subedar, gave out that they had captured the Maharaj, the Jubraj and others, and fraudulently obtained the rewards of Rs. 5,000 for the capture of the Maharaj, Rs. 5,000 for the Jubraj, Rs. 3,000 for the Senapati, Rs. 3,000 for Zila Gumba, Rs. 3,000 for Tangol, and Rs. 2,000 for Niranjan Singh. If enquiries be instituted it will be evident that all the Princes have adduced proofs in the Court, stating that they surrendered themselves of their own accord.

In conclusion they (the petitioners) do not wish to say anything in regard to the decision (passed) and the appeal. Those who are concerned with them will do that business. They have become very much afraid on account of the sentence of death passed upon their sons, brothers, husbands, fathers, masters and King, and having humbly related all the events from the beginning to the end, they pray with folded hands that His Excellency the Governor-General may, by keeping the Royal duty in view, which punishes the wicked people and cherishes the good people, by doing strict justice, being impartial in the esteem of man and God and free from revengeful thoughts, prove himself a noble-minded person, that he may not take the lives of the princes who are the descendants of the renowned Babrubahan, son of the great hero and noble-hearted Arjun, by error of judgment, and depending upon hearsay only. If they lose their lives the British honour will receive a great stain which will remain for ever.

This we have humbly stated.

The signatures are on separate papers.

SOME MUTINY TELEGRAMS IN THE BIHAR STATE ARCHIVES

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In the State Archives at Patna there are three volumes of telegrams received and despatched by the Commissioner of Patna Division during the critical period of 1857-59. The facts about the movement of 1857 have generally been published in various scholarly works. An authentic account of its rise and progress in Bihar may be found in the two recent works of Dr. K. K. Datta, namely, the *History of Freedom Movement in Bihar* and the *Biography of Kunwar Singh and Amar Singh*. None-the-less, these telegrams are of great historical interest in so far as they give a first hand account of day-to-day progress of the movement throughout the Lower Provinces and help in studying the nature of various campaigns hatched and fought by the English in suppressing the revolt. Besides, they also reflect the panic, vigilance and vindictiveness of the English authorities. They also give us an insight into the working of the English mind during those critical days.

The first volume contains 192 telegrams from the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner of Patna. They cover the period from 2nd October 1857 to 11th December 1858. The second volume has 209 telegrams received by the Commissioner of Patna from other civil and military officers stationed in Bihar and the North Western Provinces. They range from 2nd October 1857 to 4th December 1858. In the third volume there are 225 telegrams, all despatched by the Commissioner of Patna to the various authorities.

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A perusal of these telegrams in chronological order will help us in closely following the sequence of events connected with the movement. It is clear that all these telegrams date after the first spate of the movement was over in Bihar, and the hero, Babu Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpore, had retreated from this province.

The first volume opens with a telegram from Beadon¹, dated Calcutta the 2nd October 1857 (7/20 P.M.) to E.A. Samuels, Commissioner of Patna, conveying news about Delhi. It runs:—"Message of this day's from Cawnpore—Delhi is entirely ours. God save the Queen—strong column in pursuit".

1. Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Government of India.

Another telegram communicates the news of the defeat of the Ramgarh mutineers at Chatra³ on the 2nd October 1857. Another telegram of the 4th October elaborates the same news thus:—"The force by which Rampurh mutineers were defeated consisted of 150 of the 53rd under Major English and 150 Sics (Sikhs) of the police battalion under Major Simson. 45 of these killed and wounded and the remaining force being too weak to escort the guns and ammunition through the Jungles, a detachment of the 95th had been stopped at Sherghatty³ and sent to their assistance under Lieutenant Staunton".

Telegram, dated Thursday the 15th October 1857, informs the Magistrate of Gaya about the revolt of two companies of the 32nd N.I. at Deoghar and advises him to ask Major English to intercept them on the Nawadah Road. This detachment went to Nawadah and after a skirmish with Major English went towards the west. Another telegram of 24th October 1857 informs on the basis of a report from A. Money, Collector of Gaya, that the mutineers were going to Arwal, probably on way to Jagdishpore. The telegram of 20th October 1857 communicates the news of the revolt of another detachment of the 32nd N.I. at Rampur Haut in the Santhal Parganas and their march towards Deoghar. Subsequent telegrams detail the progress of this detachment westward. One dated 9th November 1857 reports a skirmish fought at Dunchowah⁴—"Mr. Baker, Deputy Magistrate from Camp Dunechowah 7th November—Captain Rattray came up to the 32nd N.I. Mutineers very strong posted in and around the village Dunchawah at half past 3 P.M. yesterday. The enemy after defending there (their) position (position) with the greatest (greatest) obstinacy retired about 9 P.M. leaving 14 bodies on the ground and carrying away there (their) wounded and probably some killed. They have moved towards Peeroo. Dunchonwah is ten miles south west of Nonore. Our loss is Lieutenant Boyd and seven killed and seventeen wounded. The detachment evaded further pursuit by the English and continued their activities."

In November 1857 there occurred the revolt of regiments stationed at Chittagong, Dacca and Jalpaiguri. This created alarm among the English about the safety of North Bihar. The following telegrams bear out the panic created in the minds of the English.

24th November 1857:—"The detachment of the 34th N.I. mutineed at Chittagong in the night of 18th there is reason to fear this example may be followed at Dacca and Jalpaigore and that the march of the mutineers will

2. In the Hazaribagh District, a Sub Divisional headquarters now.
3. Situated at the southern end of the present Gaya District on the Grand Trunk Road.
4. In the District of Shahabad.

be westward through the districts north of the Ganges. Be on the alert and do not fail to report instantly intelligence you receive of their movement".

25th November 1857:—"The detachment of the 73rd N.I. at Dacca resisted the attempt to disarm them. Forty were killed and many wounded. In Naval Brigade 15 were wounded one has since died and two are not expected to recover. The rest seem to have got away and may join the Chittagong mutineers. This may bring matters to a crisis at Julpaigooree. Should the corps there join the Chittagong and Dacca rebels and go westward Tirhoot may be invaded from the east-ward by 1200 infantry besides the troops of cavalry. What could you oppose (*sic*) to send a force. What force now present at Patna and Dinapore".

Subsequent telegrams reveal that there was revolt at Jalpaiguri and the rebels joined the Dacca mutineers who proceeded westward. Tirhoot however could not be invaded and the rebels retired to the Nepal Tarai: Rana Jung Bahadur of Nepal had now become a staunch ally of the English.

Amongst the telegrams contained in the other two volumes the most interesting ones are those which relate to the last dash of Kunwar Singh from the North-Western Provinces to Shahabad in April 1858. For the last six months he had been moving from place to place in the North-Western Provinces. In March 1858 he had finally entrenched himself at Azamgurh. This caused great alarm in European circles all over Bihar and eastern U.P. The Governor General was requested by the authorities to take special measures for preventing Kunwar Singh's further onslaught and two armies under Sir E. Lugard and Lord Mark-Kerr were ordered from different directions to dislodge him from Azamgurh. A telegram of 1st April 1858 from Commissioner of Patna to Commissioner of Bhagalpur details some of the measures approved by the Governor General in this connection. "The Lt. Governor authorises me to call for the Sailors and guns now with you. The rebels threaten both Chuparah and Arrah and our force is very small. Pray send the sailors by quickest mode of conveyance you can". Two days later he warned the Lt. Governor of Bengal against "the evils of a divided command in the district like Shahabad".

A telegram of the 5th April from Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner of Patna describing the situation at Azamgurh says:—"About five thousand rebels under Koer Singh hold the town of Azamgurh while our troops hold the entrenchments to the south of it. Rebels can not get past and proceed towards Gazeepore....I expect the rebels fly down towards Arrah when our army approaches".

The Commissioner's reply of 8th reports further developments as follows:—"Just heard from Azamgurh dated the 5th—enemy had been

reinforced by one thousand five hundred force with 2 guns and were very bold in consequence—Lord Mark-Kerr with 13th ten miles off".

The subsequent telegrams describe the rapid march of events as detailed below:—

"The 13th with convoy reached Azamgarh on the 7th after some hard fighting one officer killed and several men killed and wounded—enemy suffered severely—Gazeepore convoy expected next day—Lugard on the tenth—five hundred sepoys had embarked on the Gogra at Gopalpur on 7th and dropped down stream—great alarm in consequence felt at Sewan. Lynch's (Deputy Magistrate at Sewan) idea was to fall back on Hathwa with the levy if they heard of the enemy's approach. They have twenty five thousand rupees and much opium at Sewan. We shall hear to-night or tomorrow where the sepoys are going to. The residents at Chaprah are fortifying the Raja's house" (*To Government of Bengal dated 9th April 1858*).

"The convoy from Ghazeepore reached Azamgurh safely on the evening of the 9th without a man being touched. The rebels did not expect them till next morning Lugard had reached Jaunpore on 9th and 10th men and cattle much knocked up. They expected to reach Azamgurh on 13th all quiet in the division" (*To Government of Bengal dated 13th April 1858*).

"News from Azamgurh dated 14th Lugard had dispersed the Tigras Rebels on 12th and killed about 80 taking their 2 guns. 2000 of the Azamgurh rebels with 2 guns marched on 13th to Sugrea on Road to Ballia and it was thought might attack Chaprah. These men are under Nishan Singh⁵—Koer Singh was still at Azamgurh with about 500 sepoys and some rabbles the rest having deserted. He was preparing to fly cavalry had been sent to Mhow⁶ to intercept him and Lugard was hurrying on. The reports in the Bazar have it that the rebels have fled to Oude" (*To Government of Bengal dated 16th April 1858*).

"The following message has been received from the Commissioner of Benaras dated yesterday five A.M. Tomorrow being an auspicious day Koer Singh expected to retire from Azimgurh. His prepared movement not known" (*From Government of Bengal dated 13th April 1858*).

"All quiet in the Division. The arrival of the Naval Brigade has reassured the Chuprah people. Two thousand rebels are said to be on Deori Ghat⁷ attempting to cross the Gogra but cannot get boats and are afraid of

5. Lieutenant. of Koer Singh.

6. In Gazipur District.

7. In Gorakhpur District.

the Jamuna steamer, Tuhseeldar of Nurhan reports that rebels had reached Nugra and that there was heavy firing in that direction from 4 P.M. to sunset of the 15th. Two companies of 54th foot have been sent from Benares to Ghazepore. Sailors and Seikhs only left Sassaram Thursday. Some delay on account of tents. Trenchments at Arrah finished" (*To Government of Bengal dated 17th April 1858*).

"The rebels under Koer Singh are making for Naggra and Balliah Ghat where they hope to cross the Ganges with boats procured by their friends. Bragadier Douglas is in pursuit and had thrashed them 3 times" (*From Commissioner of Benaras dated 18th April 1858*).

"We have heard of Lugard's attack on the rear of Kuer Singh's force on 15th. I have a letter from the Commissioner of Jamuna setamer dated 16th that he had been obliged to drop down to Secunderpore from Balliah there 1500 sepoys and 4 guns being about 14 miles from him. He reports the rebels scattered over the whole country from Burhal downwards on the Azimghur side. If pursuit is not rapid much mischief will be done as the country in which they are is quite unprotected and though early care has been taken to remove boats they may get into Chuprah and sack Sewan and Hathwa. I have begged that troops may be sent from Gazeepore district by forced marches when it appears clear that the object of the rebels is Chaprah and not Gazeepur" (*To Government of Bengal dated 18th April 1858*).

"No news of importance either from Chuprah or Arrah at both places the rivers are strictly watched and Koer Singh will find it difficult to cross. There is a report of his death in bazar but I do not believe it. The Chuprah residents have determined on moving up an entrenchment at Tilpah Ghat. They find the Rajahs house too much surrounded by bazar. They complain of the drunkenness of the Sailors. The Megna⁸ returned yesterday contrary to orders. I have sent her back to Ballia and the Brigadier has at my request put twenty five men and two officers on board. The Jamuna will cruise between Derowalee⁹ and mouth of the river" (*To Government of Bengal dated 19th April 1858*).

"Rebels after marching as far as Nugra in direction of Balliah turned off to Secundarpore which they reached on the Eighteenth. Jamuna has dropped lower down hearing that enemy had four guns. Enemy evidently intend on crossing Gogra which is believed to be fordable near Secundarpore they may either move on Chupra or Gorukpore. Express have been sent to hasten pursuing force and it has been proposed to Brigadier to send the

8. Steamer.

9. In Gorakhpur District.

Europeans and one hundred and fifty Seikhs with two guns from Arrah to Chuprah leaving sailors two guns and fifty Seikhs at Arrah. Also to bring Megna down to Gogra. Magistrate of Chuprah has been authorised to send ladies off whenever rebels cross the Gogra and secure treasures and all valuable records and books too. Entrenchment at river bank for Chupra will be ready tomorrow. Rajah's house found untenable". (*To Government of Bengal, dated 21st April 1858*).

"Rebels marched from Secunderpore to Banoder on 19th and were expected to go on Beyreah and thence to endeavour to cross to Shahabad. Brigadier Douglas hopes to come up with them before they can cross every precaution has been taken to prevent them doing so they have two guns and thirty four elephants". (*To Government of Bengal, dated 21st April 1858*).

From information received by the Commissioner, Patna, from Buxar, Douglas appears to have attacked the rebels at Bansdee on the 20th and killed a number of them. He was pursuing them most energetically. Inspite of this Kuer Singh and his men crossed into Shahabad on the 21st April 1858. The following telegrams describe this event:—

"The Meghna steamer with party of thirty-fifth on board under Lt. Davis met about two hundred rebels crossing into Shahabad at Huldee at seven yesterday morning. Party landed and drove them back killing six—only one boatload got across. A little below Bykuntpore came upon another very large body who all ran away on seeing the steamer. One boat with sepoys on board was sunk. Last night letters from Arrah mentioned that the firing had been heard and that the thirty-fifth and Seikhs with two guns were preparing to move to the bank of river. A party of rebels passing down right bank of Gogra have alarmed the Chuprah people. They have appeared at Manjhee¹⁰ (Monjhi) searching for boats. Hockley appears to have dropt down before them. They can have no guns and I have sent him orders to attack them and destroy any boats. They are probably merely sent as a blind. Kuer Singh is clearly passing into Shahabad and will I fear get over at night". (*To Government of Bengal, dated 22nd April 1858*).

"There is a report probably true that the rebels have got into Shahabad in force and that the natives are flying from Arrah. The sooner you reinforce us here the better. We have not a man for opium godown and only fifty Europeans for the foot here with no artillery men. Telegraph to Rattray and Corfield to look out". (*To Government of Bengal dated 22nd April 1858*).

"Letter just received from Magistrate Arrah, dated 22nd April. Expedition did not go out last night—fearful lest rebels might come by another road

10. On the Gogra in Saran District.

and attack Arrah—Kuer Singh is at Jugdishpore with 2000 men. Lost his arm and wounded in the thigh....Proposed plan to march for Jugdishpore in the evening of the 22nd and attack the enemy following morning....” (*To the Government of Bengal, dated 23rd April 1858*).

This force under Legrand was completely routed by the army of Kunwar Singh and the following telegrams give a vivid picture of the events:—

“A note from Brodhurst has just been brought in by a jail Burkundaz I give it verbatim....I have only just returned and so you will excuse my not entering into particulars in this letter I will tomorrow give you a full account in my humble opinion he retreated when we should have advanced and I can not but think that if we had done the latter we should have been successful. We retired after merely a little fighting and immediately the order was given the Europeans specially the 35th became panicstricken and went off as hard as they could go Number fell from fatigue or sunstroke and were killed where they fell by some sowars and other rebels who followed us close to Arrah. We have lost Captain Legrand Lieutenant Massey and Dr. Clark, Lieutenant Waller doing duty with the Sikhs was wounded but is doing well—but fifty of the 35th have not yet come back in. If it had not been for the Scikhs (Sikhs) I do not think one European would have survived.” (*To Government of Bengal, dated 24th April 1858*).

“The following is the Brigadier's official list of killed and missing—One hundred and two of the 35th dead and missing Nineteen of the Naval Brigade dead and wounded—one sergeant and 3 gunners of artillery dead and missing. One Havildar and 9 Scikhs killed and 5 wounded 2 Howitzers spiked and abandoned. Ten elephants, Enfield ammunitions tents and luggage lost”. (*To Government of Bengal dated 25th April 1858*).

This was Kunwar Singh's last victory. He died shortly afterwards leaving the command of the force to his brother Amar Singh. Lugard was already in hot pursuit. He arrived in Shahabad a few days later. The following telegram reports his arrival:—“Lugard has arrived with Cumberleges force I understand at Sinhaghat and Douglas advance is again delayed that they may all march together. This is to be regretted. Rumours of Koer Singh's death still prevail. Ummer Singh is said to have joined. Parties of rebels five or six in number wander about and do mischief murdering and plundering. Otherwise the district quiet.” (*To Government of Bengal dated 29th April 1858*).

As the events showed Lugard did not achieve much success in Shahabad and made a proposal to retire. The Governor General's telegram to this proposal is significant. It is contained in the following telegram of Major

Atkinson addressed to the Commissioner of Patna 24th May 1858:—
 "Letter of the 18th May to the Bengal Government has been laid before Government of India. The president in Council approves of the views therein expressed and strongly hopes that Sir E. Lugard may be able to force the rebels out of the Jugdishpore jungles very soon. Government entirely concur with you in the many bad political effects which would result from our retirement before the Rebel force is broken up. Col. Corfield and his troops are al (all) ready Sir E. Lugard's orders having been placed by the president in Council on the 6th of May. Sir E. Lugard will doubtless bear in mind that the security of the Grand Trunk Road is an object to be provided for as far as existing means allow but in the opinion of the president in Council the primary object of the moment is the early dispersal of the rebel force now in the Jugdishpore Jungle.

You are requested to send a copy of your letter of the 18th with transcript of this message to Sir E. Lugard."

The subsequent events leading up to the fall of Jagdishpur in October 1858 are also described in the telegrams.



A MANUSCRIPT OF VALUE TO THE HISTORY OF ORISSA

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I was able to obtain a very important manuscript written as early as 1772 relating to the *circar* of Rajahmundry etc., giving details of the Parganas, Inams, Jagirs etc. The Rajahmundry *circar* was under (1) Raja Jagapathi Raju, Zamindar of Peddapur, (2) Rao Venkata Rao, Zamindar of Pithapur, (3) Raja Pusapati Vijaya Rama Raju of Kotipalli Jagir, (4) Kandregula Venkata Jagannadha Rao of Rajahmundry, (5) Kalidindi Tirupathi Raju, Zamindar of Mogalthurru, (6) Meka Narasimha Apparao, Zamindar of Nuzividu and several others.

The Parganas or places held by them and the amounts due from them and the amounts collected actually by them at the time of Zamabandi are all given in detail. Similarly, the Srikakulam *circar* and the Zamindars therein and the amounts to be paid by them are all described in detail. One Ramanarusu Pantulu was said to be its Muzumdar. The accounts relate to the *Zamabandi* of June 30, 1772. Srikakulam is said to be a part of Kalinga and the Pusapatis of Vijayanagaram were the chief Zamindars. Also, Bobbili Rangarao, Balakonda Raina Bhadra Raju, Veeragottamu Vijaya Rama, and Nandapuram Ramachandra Devand, Kimidi Narayana Dev, and Tekkali Jagaddev, Madugula Linga Bhupathi and other Zamindars, and the amounts payable by them, and the amounts actually paid by them are all mentioned. For the six *circars*, (Rajamahendravaram, Eluru, Kandapalli, Machili Bandar, Nizampatnam and Srikakulam) granted to the Hon'ble East India Company by Asafjahi Nizam-ul-mulk, Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur, Subedar, Deccan in 1768 equal to *Hijri* 1181, as per the terms agreed upon, the amounts payable for each *circar* and the due dates on which payments should be made are given.

It is interesting to note that for occupying certain lands by Hydar Ali, a sum of eleven crores should be accounted for. Mention is also made of the Parganas and the sums due from them.

The several Parganas and the amounts due from them in *Telingana Districts*, 16 in number, are also mentioned. The history of six *circars*

and the treaties made between the English East India Company and Walaja Khan of Karnatak are all described in great detail.

A contemporary History of the Deccan, both political and economic, is also available.

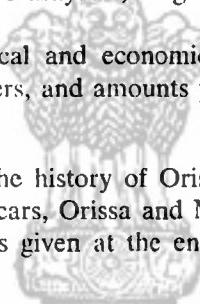
Similarly, the history of the Zamindars in *Ganjam District* with the talukas, names of Zamindars, and amounts payable for each taluka are given.

Similarly, a Revenue Settlement (*Zama Bandi*) was made in 1772 (1182 *Fasli*) and the details of the Circars and Telingana and Karnatak provinces are given in minute detail.

The list of Kings that ruled over *Hastinapuram* (Delhi) from Dharma Raja along with their regular periods up to Prithvipala are next described with an account of their history. Next, an account of the kings and countries of North India (Badari Narayana) is given.

Finally, a detailed political and economic history of Kalinga (Orissa) with names of Districts, Rulers, and amounts payable for the period 1768 to 1772 is recorded.

This will be useful for the history of Orissa. Detailed accounts of exports and imports of the Circars, Orissa and Madras are given. A genealogical tree of Jillella family is given at the end.



KUWAIT AND THE PROBLEM OF BRITISH ROUTES TO INDIA

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The principality of Kuwait lies on the north western shore of the Persian Gulf in the form of a deep wedge between Iraq and Saudi Arabia. It was founded in the 18th century and maintained, for over a century and a half, a more or less independent existence, though its Chiefs recognised at different periods the shadowy suzerainty of the Ottoman Porte or the Wahhabis Amirs of Riyadh¹. However, the Turkish expedition to Najd in 1871 which resulted in the occupation of El Hasa brought Kuwait directly within the orbit of Ottoman influence².

Kuwait's importance to India lay in that it was regarded as the most feasible terminus for a railway system linking the eastern Mediterranean with the Persian Gulf.³ For England the problem of communications with India had always been a matter of concern and it was a fundamental axiom of British diplomacy to prevent possible routes to the Empire from being menaced by any European Power.⁴

British attention had been drawn early in the 19th century towards the possibility of opening up routes to India from the eastern Mediterranean.⁵ In the 1830's Col. (later Gen. F.R.) Chesney was sent to explore the Euphrates. Chesney's report was entirely favourable and in the following decade steamship traffic was opened up as far as Baghdad on the initiative of a British Company.⁶

On the close of the Crimean War the question was taken up by W.P. Andrew, Chairman of the Sind Railway, who put forward a scheme for a railway from the Gulf of Alexandretta to Jaber Castle on the upper Euphrates.

1. F. Warden, *Historical Study of the Uttobee Tribe of Arabs*: Bombay Selection No. 24, p. 367; J. G. Lorimer, *Confidential Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia*, (Calcutta 1915), Vol. I, Part I, pp. 1000—16.

2. Memorandum on Turkish Jurisdiction in the Persian Gulf: Foreign Department, Secret Proceedings No. 23, May 1880.

3. Precis on Kuwait by India Office: F.D.S.P. No. 57, March 1901.

4. *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, (Cambridge 1940), Vol. II, p. 548; H. L. Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, (Philadelphia 1928), Chapter XI, *passim*.

5. Parliamentary Paper No. 478 of 1834: Report from Select Committee on Steam Navigation to India.

6. W.P. Andrew, *Memoir on the Euphrates Valley Route to India*, (London 1857) pp. 2, 18, 129.

rates. Andrew ultimately planned to extend the line to Baghdad and Basra, where ocean-going ships could call. He succeeded in arousing interest in his scheme in political and commercial circles. However, out of consideration for the French, who had important interests in the Levant, Palmerston refused a Government guarantee which was considered essential for the project. As a result the entire conception was abandoned.⁷

The opening of the Suez route in 1869 for a time gave a new impetus to the project. It was felt in England that an alternative to the French-built canal ought to be there. In 1871 a Select Committee of the Commons was appointed to go into the question.⁸ The Committee recommended the construction of a line from Alexandretta to Kuwait. It laid emphasis on the commercial as well as the political and strategic aspect of the question. Besides encouraging trade in Mesopotamia and providing a speedy means of transporting troops to India in an emergency, the line would also block Russia's advance towards the Persian Gulf. It was, however, evident that the scheme would not be commercially viable unless a state guarantee was given. This was not forthcoming and the project again fizzled out.⁹

The abortive English scheme for a trans-Mesopotamian Railway was revived in 1898 by a Russian subject, one Count Vladimir Kapnist. Kapnist applied to the Porte for a concession pertaining to the construction of a trunk line from Tripoli in Syria to Kuwait on the Persian Gulf, stipulating a 6 per cent state guarantee on the capital employed in the conception.¹⁰ He simultaneously aroused the interest of an English financial house, Messrs. Williams, Meyer and Company, in the project.¹¹ The terms on which the English business house was to co-operate in the scheme were: (1) that half the capital of the proposed company was to be reserved for issue in Russia and correspondingly, half the Board of Directors was to consist of persons of Russian nationality; and (2) that Russian representation in the Board of Directors would be in proportion to the capital actually subscribed in Russia, without in any case exceeding half its full strength. Messrs. Williams, Meyer and Company approached the Foreign Office for its countenance, indicating that by virtue of the latter stipulation, Russia, where private capital was very scarce, would be prevented from converting the undertaking into a monopoly.

7. E.M. Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers and the Baghdad Railway*. (New York 1924) p. 176; H.L. Hoskins, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-31; *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. II, p. 583.

8. Parliamentary Paper No. 387 of 1871; Report from Select Committee on Euphrates Valley Railway.

9. H.L. Hoskins, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

10. Petition by Count Kapnist to the Ottoman Porte: F.D.S.P. No. 51, May 1899.

11. Memorandum on Kapnist scheme by Messrs. Williams, Meyer and Company dated 25th October, 1898: F.D.S.P. No. 54, May 1899.

Participation in the Kapnist project was discouraged by the British representatives at St. Petersburg and Constantinople on political grounds.¹² However, the most adversely cogent evaluation of the project was made by Gen. Sir James Ardagh, a military expert on Turkey.¹³ Ardagh stated that the authority which controlled the railway would exercise a decisive influence over the Euphrates-Tigris Basin. The fact that Russian nationals would occupy half the seats in the Directorate clearly indicated that the conception would be essentially a Russian monopoly. It was true, as argued by the English business house, that private enterprise in Russia would be unable to subscribe 50 per cent of the capital required and would thus by itself qualify for less than half the seats in the Board of Directors. But the latter argument was premised on a mis-apprehension. The scheme was not designed to open a field of investment for Russian private capital. Kapnist's objective was to create an opportunity for Russian state finance to acquire predominant influence over the basins of the Euphrates and the Tigris with a view to their ultimate inheritance.

Ardagh's critique of the Kapnist project, which drew the conclusion that a realisation of the scheme would transform Turkish Arabia into a Russian province, led the Foreign Office to the view that it was essential to acquire a controlling hand over Kuwait because of its importance as a terminus of the proposed railway. Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was personally determined to declare a protectorate over the principality.¹⁴ However, Sir Nicholas O'Connor, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, warned the Foreign Minister against any precipitate move. He pointed out that in the past Her Majesty's Government had by implication recognised Ottoman jurisdiction over the Arab littoral considerably to the east of Kuwait. An abrupt *volte face* would, therefore, be impolitic and it was better to gradually establish a position of predominance over the principality. To take Kuwait outright under protection would be considered a hostile act by Turkey; and would, in addition, produce diplomatic complications with Russia.¹⁵ The result of O'Connor's note of caution was that instead of a full-fledged protectorate being declared over the principality, its ruler was bound by an agreement whereby he engaged not to lease or alienate any part of his territory to a foreign power without the permission of England.¹⁶

While the engagement with Sheikh Mubarak of Kuwait placed Indian interests on a secure footing, it was not to be expected that Turkey would

12. H.M.'s Ambassador, Constantinople to Foreign Office dated 12th October, and 22nd December, 1898: F.D.S.P. Nos. 53 and 66, May 1899. H.M.'s Ambassador, St. Petersburg to Foreign Office dated 17th November, 1898 and 10th January, 1899: F.D.S.P. Nos. 59 and 12, May 1899.

13. Memorandum on Kapnist Scheme by Gen. Sir James Ardagh dated 29th November, 1898: F.D.S.P. No. 60, May 1899.

14. Foreign Office to India Office dated 5th December, 1898: F.D.S.P. No. 677 March 1899.

15. H.M.'s Ambassador, Constantinople to Foreign Office dated 22nd December, 1898 F.D.S.P. No. 658, March 1899.

16. Convention between Sheikh Mubarak and British Government dated 23rd January, 1899: F.D.S.P. No. 643, March 1899.

acquiesce in the proceedings. The British representative at Basra soon sent alarming reports of troop concentration in the vilayet and the intention of the military authorities to forcibly occupy the principality.¹⁷ Salisbury, however, was not prepared to temporize in a matter which so vitally affected British interests. He instructed O'Connor to warn the Porte that England viewed with disfavour attempts to coerce the Sheikh of Kuwait. Her Majesty's Government had no hostile designs on the principality. But the cordial relations which had been established with the Chief led England to view with concern recent developments which could conceivably lead to very disagreeable and inconvenient questions.¹⁸

Immediately on receipt of the above instructions O' Connor spoke to Tewfik Pasha, the Ottoman Foreign Minister, of England's preponderant interests in the Persian Gulf and communicated the warning held out by Salisbury.¹⁹ Tewfik Pasha avoided any discussion with the British diplomat. However, shortly afterwards, Anthopoulous Pasha, an Ottoman diplomat who had represented his country in England, called at the British Embassy with a message from the Sultan Abdul Hamid²⁰, he told O'Connor, had been disturbed by the stand taken by Her Majesty's Government. Surely Salisbury did not desire to curtail his liberty of action in respect to territory which was so uncontestedly a part of his empire? The Sultan, the Pasha stated, was aware of the important interests of England in the Persian Gulf and of the desire of Her Majesty's Government not to allow any foreign power to interfere with their road towards India. His Majesty had, therefore, desired him to state that if British interests were threatened by another Power he was ready and willing to prevent this.²¹

From the language held out by Anthopoulous Pasha it is clear that Turkey was willing to guarantee British interests in Kuwait in return for a formal recognition of her rights over the principality. However, O'Connor's instructions were clear and he repeated to Anthopoulous Pasha what he had told the Ottoman Foreign Minister earlier. England had no aggressive designs on the principality. Only she was on the most intimate terms with Mubarak and would not permit the prosecution of hostilities against him. It was thus made clear to Turkey that the British Government had no inten-

17. Tel. Viceroy to Secretary of State for India dated 2nd September 1899: F.D.S.P. No. 140, November 1899; Tel. H.M's Ambassador, Constantinople, to Viceroy dated 8th September, 1899: F.D.S.P. No. 646, November 1899.

18. Tel. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to H.M's. Ambassador, Constantinople dated 6th September 1899: F.D.S.P. No. 171, November 1899.

19. H.M's. Ambassador, Constantinople to Foreign Office dated 13th September 1899: F.D.S.P. No. 194, November 1899.

20. H.M's Ambassador, Constantinople to Foreign Office dated 13th September 1899 F.D.S.P. No. 195, November 1899.

1. *Ibid.*

tion of abandoning its special position in Kuwait as embodied in the non-alienation agreement with Mubarak.²²

The decline in English interest in the Euphrates route to India sometime after the opening of the Suez Canal²³ was followed by an increasing German interest in the question of communications within the Ottoman Empire. As long as Bismarck remained in office, no serious attempt was made to develop relations along this plane because of the fear of arousing Russian hostility. However, when Emperor William II took over direction of affairs, a change in attitude soon followed. Fully sharing the sentiments of the colonial party, the Emperor saw in the Ottoman Empire an open field for economic penetration by German industry.²⁴ In 1888 German interests secured a concession for the construction of a line from Constantinople to Angora. A German Anatolian Company was formed and constructed the line till Konia by 1892.²⁵

The building of the Konia line was followed by a period of inactivity until Siemens, President of the Anatolian Railway, raised the question of the extension of the Konia line with the Ottoman authorities in 1899. British reaction to the German initiative offered a sharp contrast to that evoked by the Kapnist project. Russian control over Mesopotamia would have been disastrous for England, commercially as well as strategically. On the other hand, increased German commitment in the area would serve as a counter-weight to Russia and block her southward expansion towards the Gulf.²⁶ Besides, with control over Kuwait, England was confident of being able to safeguard her interests. O'Connor was in favour of British participation in the project, provided co-operation with Germany resulted in some understanding securing to British capitalists a right to participate on fair terms in the prolongation of the line from Konia to the Gulf. Such an understanding would be to the advantage of English trade and political influence.²⁷

Siemens's negotiations led to the issue of an Imperial irade on 25th November, 1899 conferring on the Germans the right, in principle, to construct a line from Konia to Baghdad.²⁸ Immediately afterwards an antagonism began to develop between England and Germany. As anticipated by O'Connor, Siemens did make tentative overtures to British capitalists, but they were rejected on the score that the terms offered did

22. W.L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism*, (New York 1935), Vol. II, p. 646.

23. W.L. Langer, *The Franco-Russian Alliance*, (Cambridge 1929), p. 99; J.C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, (1534-1914), (New York 1956), p. 252.

24. W.L. Langer, *op. cit.*, (f.n. 22), pp. 632-4.

25. Lord Ronaldshay, *On the Outskirts of Empire in Asia*, (London 1904), p. 329.

26. H.M's Ambassador, Constantinople to Foreign Office dated 9th November, 1899 F.D.S.P. No. 175, October 1900.

27. H.M's Ambassador, Constantinople to Foreign Office dated 30th November 1899 F.D.S.P. No. 202, October 1900.

not involve participation on a basis of equality.²⁸ More disturbing, however, were the activities, at the Gulf end, of a German Survey Commission which had been sent to explore the route of the proposed railway. Its members confessed to the British Resident that the project would be viable commercially only if Kuwait was secured as a terminus; and that Germany intended to negotiate a lease in the principality directly with Abdul Hamid over the head of Mubarik.²⁹

The Government of India reacted sharply to the disclosures of the Survey Commission. It maintained in a communication to the India Office that if Germany succeeded in negotiating a lease directly with the Sultan over the head of Mubarik, then the British position in the Gulf would be fatally weakened. The Indian authorities felt that the secret Convention with Mubarik ought to be revealed and Germany be given to understand that a terminus could be secured only through British good offices and as part of a wider understanding in relation to the entire project.³⁰

The Indian suggestion proved unacceptable to O'Connor. The Ambassador argued that in the context of the South African War it would be inexpedient to hasten the development of the Kuwait issue. Any advance by England would furnish an argument for similar action on the part of Russia on the plea of compensation. Besides, Germany too would adopt an inflexible attitude at a moment when England's military potential was fully involved in Africa. As an alternative O'Connor suggested that he be permitted to hint to Baron Von Marschall, his German opposite number, the nature of Anglo-Kuwait relations and to express the hope that it would be to the advantage of both countries if a reasonable and conciliatory attitude was maintained towards the problem.³¹ Salisbury agreed to the firm yet cautious course suggested by the Ambassador.³²

In the meanwhile the German Survey Commission visited Kuwait and made an ineffective bid to secure a lease from the Chief.³³ After the Commission's visit O'Connor seized an early opportunity to clarify the British position. Referring to the Commission's activities he told Tewfik Pasha that although England did not want to disturb the status quo

28. H.M.'s Ambassador, Constantinople, to Foreign Office dated 27th December 1899: F.D.S.P. No. 208, October 1900.

29. Demi-Official, Resident, Persian Gulf, to Secretary, Foreign Department, Government of India dated 15th January 1900: F.D.S.P. No. 175/281, October 1900.

30. Tel. Viceroy to Secretary of State for India dated 7th January and 8th January 1900: F.D.S.P. Nos. 181 and 189, October, 1900.

31. H.M.'s Ambassador, Constantinople, to Foreign Office dated 22nd January 1900: F.D.S.P. No. 219, October 1900.

32. Tel. Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to H.M.'s Ambassador, Constantinople dated 23rd January 1900: F.D.S.P. No. 229, October 1900.

33. Memorandum on interview between Sheikh Mubarik and Resident, Persian Gulf, dated 5th February, 1900: F.D.S.P. No. 211, October 1900.

in the Gulf, it would not remain an indifferent spectator to any arrangement as would give another Power special rights and privileges in Kuwait.³⁴ Tewfik Pasha did not react beyond taking note of the Ambassador's observations. However, shortly afterwards Baron Von Marschall called at the British Embassy. With the German Ambassador O'Connor was more forthright. He told Marchall that England had a non-alienation agreement with Kuwait. Mubarik could not, therefore, lease his territory to any foreign power without prior British sanction. Her Majesty's Government was for co-operation with Germany on fair terms in the construction of the Baghdad Railway. Yet for that very reason it was essential for Germany to be acquainted with the position in which Kuwait stood in relation to England.³⁵

O'Connor's assertion must have made it plain to Berlin that to secure a debouch for the Baghdad Railway on the Gulf it would be essential to gain British co-operation on payment of a satisfactory price. For shortly afterwards we find Count Bulow, the German Chancellor, giving a categoric assurance to Sir F. Lascelles, the British Ambassador at Berlin, that England would be taken into confidence whenever a decision was made in relation to a terminus for the project on the Persian Gulf.³⁶

Bulow's assurance to Lascelles set the pattern for the diplomacy of the Baghdad Railway. The question of dominance over the routes to India was a basic motivation of British policy in the Persian Gulf and was responsible for the conversion of Kuwait from an obscure principality into a point of friction between the powers. In the period under review it was Russia which presented the most serious threat to British imperial interests. Hence the alacrity with which the Foreign Office reacted to the Kapnist project. German ambitions, of course, constituted a totally different problem. Antagonisms between Berlin and London were more subtle and British diplomacy believed that in the Middle Eastern theatre at any rate, the interests of the two countries were not fundamentally irreconcilable.

34. H.M's Ambassador, Constantinople, to Foreign Office dated 10th April 1900: F.D.S.P. No. 252, October 1900.

35. *Ibid.*

36. H.M's Ambassador, Berlin, to Foreign Office dated 15th June 1900: F.D.S.P. No. 275, October 1900.

TATYA TOPE IN BHOPAL

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Among the records in the custody of the National Archives of India, Bhopal, there are unpublished documents which throw a flood of light on the activities of Tatya Tope. They form an authentic source of information about the activities of this veteran fighter for freedom and his deeds, thoughts, and actions as a man.

The present note covers some of the important documents which furnish a graphic account of his famous march from Bhilsa to Pathuri Ghat on the Narbada¹ and his other activities which underline the magnanimity and noble soul of Tatya Tope.

The detailed account of mutiny given by Tatya Tope to Major Meade, while in captivity, marks him as an indisputable leader of the war of freedom under the command of his Peshwa without any selfish designs whatsoever, either mercenary or political. Even the British contemporary writers commended his patriotic deeds and his skill as a guerilla warrior. He was godfearing and a man of high morals. His actions were not marked by any brutality; he was dead against arson and loot and thus proved himself to be noble in thoughts, humane in words and benign in actions. He fought for a cause and did not think of his own gain or safety. Even at the time of his arrest, he was not worried, nor did any change appear in his appearance, although he knew it well that he would end on the gallows.²

Lala Har Sahai, Tahsildar of Bamhori, furnishes a proof of the good nature and kindness of Tatya Tope. In his letter addressed to the Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam, the then ruler of Bhopal, on 31st October, 1858 A.D., he said that he was wonderstruck to learn that nothing of jewellery, ornaments, and drapery were looted by rebels in his tahsil and that Tatya Tope was not at all in favour of loot and arson of any sort. Once when a complaint was lodged by some villagers before him against some men of his army who had looted their foodgrains and pulses, he became furious and punished them very severly. He also asserted before Abbas Ali, Thanadar of Bamhori, who was his prisoner those days that he had not issued orders for plundering the public. The Tahsildar also reported

(1) File No. 217, National Archives, Bhopal, 575-76

(2) File No. 328, National Archives, Bhopal, 45-46

that it was the *Gonds* and other residents of adjoining villages who had plundered village Bamhori, the seat of the tahsil, just after the departure of the rebel army.³

It has been observed that Tatya Tope was forced to move towards the Bhopal State after his crushing defeat at Mangrauli (situated to the south of Lalitpur, U.P.) at the hands of Major General Michel on 10th October, 1858. Nawab Sikandar Jahan Begam, the then ruler of Bhopal, received first information from her *vakil* Munshi Bhawani Prasad on 26th October about the arrival of the mutineers headed by Rao Saheb and Tatya Tope at Khurai on 24th October, 1858 intending to march towards Bhopal *via* Bhilsa.⁴ It also appears that the Nawab of Banda, Abdul Sattar, brother of the Nawab of Jaora, the Nawab of Bereli, Raham Ali Khan, the Nawab of Karauli, brothers of the Nawab of Tonk, Sikandar Muhammad Khan, a rebel of the Bhopal State and *Risaldar* Muhammad Ali of the Bhopal Army, were with the rebel army during their march through the Bhopal State.⁵ Being apprehensive of impending havoc, the Begam lost no time to advise the Commander in Chief of the Bhopal Army, *Sardars* and *Jagirdars* to be ready for action against them.

On 26th October, Nawab Baqi Muhammad Khan, the consort of the heir apparent of Bhopal, informed the ruler about the arrival of the mutineers in the vicinity of Bhilsa on 25th October.⁶ Reports of the arrival of the mutineers went on pouring into the metropolis and the ruler was very much worried. The strength of the rebel army as reported to the ruler, varied from 20,000 to 30,000. But according to the *thanadars* arrested by the mutineers they were 12,000 in number.⁷ It is also said that the army had 50 elephants, and 200 camels but not a single cannon. The horse-men outnumbered the infantry. The *dak* was suspended due to the rebel army's march from north to south of the State and as such the ruler could not get timely information from the disturbed quarters and due to this handicap the relations between the ruler and the Political Agent were strained to some extent.⁸ On 27th October, Nawab Baqi Muhammad Khan again informed the ruler that the mutineers had encamped at Garhi Ambapani and Mahalpur and arrested the *thanadar* and *tahsildar* of these places.⁹

It would be interesting to mention in this place the names of villages through which the rebel army passed in course of their march through the Bhopal State.

- (3) File No. 217, National Archives, Bhopal 367-68
- (4) File No. 217, National Archives, Bhopal 33-34
- (5) File No. 217, National Archives, Bhopal 273-74
- (6) File No. 217, National Archives, Bhopal 73-74
- (7) File No. 217, National Archives, Bhopal 571-72
- (8) File No. 217, National Archives, Bhopal 399-400
- (9) File No. 217, National Archives, Bhopal 137-40.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of villages through which the rebels passed or where they encamped.</i>
25th October, 1858 A.D.	Urad Mau, Mondia Khera, Dehgaon and Jaitpur.
26th October, 1858 A.D.	Garhi Ambapani, Sankal, Parasia, Kharliki, Mahalpur.
27th October, 1858 A.D.	Bamhori, Kundali, Dulhari, Bhasera.
28th October, 1858 A.D.	Katchwara, Tonga, Kaitughan, Chattari, Untia.
29th October, 1858 A.D.	Chappara, Chatair, Ghat Kerhi, Pathura Ghat. ¹⁰

The people of the affected area, who were under the impression that their life, honour and property would not be spared by these mutineers, hearing the news of the rebel army's approach, ran away *en masse*. The *Thanadars* and *Tahsildars* of Udepura, Silwani, Bareli and Dcori ran *post haste* to mountains for self-protection.¹¹ Neither the inhabitants of the southern and eastern districts nor the army pickets of Bhopal resisted the rebel army. This was partly because of the lack of strength of the Bhopal Army which was scattered at the time and partly because of the short stay of the rebels at Bhopal which did not provide any opportunity to the ruler to mobilize her forces for resisting the rebels.

On 29th October, the rebel army crossed the Nerbada river and thus safely crossed the Bhopal State boundary. The ruler of Bhopal became so very angry with the 'let well alone' tactics of her civil officers, who were also vested with some military powers, that she issued a notification in the form of a *parwana* to the *thanadars* and *tahsildars* of the districts through which the rebel army had passed, remarking that "they exhausted our resources by placing incessant demands for gun-powder and bullets for the last 2 years but when the chance of facing the enemy comes they take shelter in the fort and mountains. It is not known what wrath of God has befallen them that they utterly ignore to serve their master with faith, zeal and bravery...."¹²

It may not be out of point to note that the ruler of Bhopal had a keen desire to check the progress of the rebels and do away with Tatya Tope particularly when he was in her own territory but her desire could not be fulfilled due to the fact that her sepoys posted to all those places through which the forces passed, were in two figures only.

(10) File No. 217, National Archives, Bhopal, 575-76

(11) File No. 217, National Archives, Bhopal, 367-68

(12) File No. 217, National Archives, Bhopal, 457-58

It goes to the credit of Tatya Tope that even though he was well aware of the ill-will of the Begam of Bhopal, he did neither plunder the state treasury, nor kill or injure even a single man, and quietly crossed the territory of his enemy which was lying unprotected and defenceless before him.



NEW ASPECTS OF THE SANTHAL INSURRECTION

OF 1855-56

N. B. Roy.

Professor of History, Visva Bharati, Santiniketan

The Santhal outbreak of 1855-56 is classed with other manifestations of tribal discontent and unrest such as those of the Chuars of Midnapur and the Kols of Singhbhum. Economic grievances are accounted as having been the motive force behind these uprisings. This view seems to arise from a failure to comprehend the true nature of the Santhal insurrection. Ever since Sir William Hunter condemned the Hindu green-grocer and usurer in such terms as 'Huckster', 'Cheat', 'Extortioner', and 'Oppressor' and incidentally referred to the various means of chicanery practised upon the '*Poor Santal*',¹ it has been the stock-in-trade of writers on the Santhal rebellion to describe it as merely a movement directed against the *Mahajan* and the *Zemindar*. Thus Bradley Bart wrote in his book *The Story of an Indian Upland*: "Throughout they regarded the contest as one against the Hindu, the Zamindar and the *Mahajan*. Against the British Government of which they knew so little, they bore no ill-will."² This view has been echoed in every standard publication.³ The tax-gatherer and the usurer were, no doubt, the main enemies of the Santhal. According to Captain Sherwill who conducted a survey of the Daman-i-Koh in 1851, "In 1848 three villagers absconded in consequence of the oppression of the *Mahajan* who had gained cases in the Munsiffs' Court."⁴ James Pontent, the Superintendent of the Daman-i-Koh, wrote on 5th July, 1854: "When visiting the Daman-i-Koh last season, the Santhals complained to me of the oppression committed by the *Mahajan* in exacting enormous interest and

1. Sir William Hunter—*Annals of Rural Bengal*, (1897), p. 229.

2. Bradley Bart—*The Story of an Indian Upland*, (1905), p.179. He repeats this observation on p. 188 and says, "One unanimous deep-voiced cry arose from the vast assembly and the cry was death to the *Mahajan*, *Zamindar* and the police. Against the British Raj and its representatives there was no thought of animosity."

3. K.K. Datta—*The Santhal Insurrection*, (1940) "It had its origin in the economic grievances of the Santhals, due to the oppressions and frauds committed by the Bengali and upcountry merchants and money-lenders." p.5.

4. A.C. Bidwell's letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 10, December 1855.

also in taking grain almost on their own terms. On examining these books we found that they steadily charged 50% interest on money lent, viz., 8 as. in the rupee.”⁵

This rapacity of the *Mahajan* and the tax collector, which is universally admitted, could not, however, have provoked a tumultuous rising over a wide stretch of territory now included in the whole of the Santhal Pargana District, and parts of the districts of Birbhum, Bhagalpur and Monghyr. In the Daman-i-Koh—the extensive low country lying at the foot of the Rajmahal hill—which became the storm-centre of unrest, the Santhal was more prosperous than his neighbour in the Ambar and Sultanabad Zamindaries. This was testified to by Captain Sherwill who lived with his family unarmed in their midst, while making the survey. He wrote to Brown in July 1854, thus:—

“The Santhals in the Daman-i-Koh are better clothed, better fed, have more cattle and better houses than those outside the Government boundary and wherever he has not fallen into succors (seductions?) of the Bengali trader, he is a happy and contented man.”⁶

He further ascertained by his survey that the area of land under cultivation by the Santhals in the *Daman* was 1,62,560 acres, equal to 4,91,744 *bighas* and as the government rent for the following year did not exceed Rs. 47,555 the average rate of assessment stood at 1½ annas per *bigha*, which considering the fine quality of much of the land was, in his opinion, remarkably moderate.⁷ It appears from a close study of Sherwill's report that the Santhal's grievance was not so much about the rate of assessment as about the illegal cesses exacted by the police (*Naib Suzawals*).⁸

The Santhal aboriginal had a well-developed community-life, with equality of ranks among themselves and between the sexes. They originally shared the produce of the fields in common and decided all their disputes in a general gathering of the village-folk. They celebrated their festivals by singing and dancing in concert. This group or collective life was opposed to the individualist ideas and hierarchic social organisation of his Hindu neighbour, and the system of revenue and judicial administration super-imposed by the all-powerful British Raj. As a matter of fact the Santhal felt as helpless before the operation of an inscrutable judicial machinery which took away his cattle, land, and belongings, as he had felt when floods and epidemics destroyed crops and human life. W. G. Culshaw, a competent authority on the Santhals and Santhali folk-lore,

5. A.C. Bidwell's letter to the Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, 10 December, 1855.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. Sherwill writes, there were 1218 villages in the *Daman* and the amount of illegal cess in a year extorted by the *Naib Suzawals* was about Rs. 7,308/-.

therefore, added two factors (1) the official ignorance and inexperience in dealing with primitive tribes and (2) the emotional strain caused by the loss of his holding, to the general causes of the Santhali unrest summed up by E. G. Man in his book *The Santhalia and the Santhals*, viz., (1) A rapacious spirit of the *mahajans*, (2) misery caused by the system of allowing personal and hereditary bondage for debt, (3) Police *zoolum* and corruption, and (4) ineffectiveness of the judicial authority to grant him protection.

These views, however, fail to take into account the deeper causes that stirred to frenzy a people known universally to be frank and submissive and caused a general conflagration across the wide region inhabited by them. A mass of documents collected by me on this episode mainly from the West Bengal Government archives, preserved in the Writers' Buildings, Calcutta, offer, however, a new insight into this movement.

During the half century from 1800 to 1850 a number of indigo factories based on the capitalistic system of production had been started under European enterprise within the Santhal homeland. The system of remunerating hired labour on daily wage was an improvement on the prevailing system of serfdom, which bound the Santhal to life-long service to his master. Secondly, the railway was being laid across his country—one, the loopline, running from Burdwan across Sainthia, Rampurhat and Nalhati to Rajmahal and another following the Grand Trunk Road running from Burdwan across Raniganj, Mihijan, Jamtara westward. Embankments, bridges, and roads were under construction which, according to Hunter, "created a demand for workers such as had never been known in the history of India."⁹ The Santhals forming the bulk of this labour-corps made a good income and are stated to have returned home "in a few months with their girdles full of coin and women covered with silver jewellery."¹⁰

The introduction of the railway and indigo plantation was a source of material gain, but this advantage was counterbalanced by a threat to the whole system of his life and his cherished instinct for preserving his racial *mores* by living in isolation from his neighbours. To the smouldering fire of his discontent fuel was added by the *zabardasti* (violence) of some of the European railway men towards Santhali women. This is revealed in a letter of A. C. Bidwell, the Commissioner appointed for the suppression of the Santhal rebellion, to William Grey, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 10th December 1855 and in an article of Capt. W. S. Sherwill, published in the *Calcutta Review*, 1856. Sherwill

9. Hunter, *op. cit.*, *Annals of Rural Bengal*. p. 234.

10. Hunter, *op. cit.* Do. p. 235

writes, "there was a solitary case of *alleged* forcible abduction of two Santhal women and even of murder."¹¹ Bidwell, on the other hand, states unequivocally that "one of the Railway Sahibs carried off two Santhal women, wounded a Santhal man and killed another. For these reasons the Santhals were dissatisfied and pondering what to be done, when a god descended in the form of a cart-wheel and advised them to kill Pontet and the *Mahajans*." Referring to the Railway Sahibs at Sitapahar,¹² he says, "The Sahib (Mr. Thomas), the women of whose family were killed used to commit very great oppression. He used to go out with a *mussal* (a country made torch) made of wax at night, and dishonour the women of the Santhals."

In a community where women enjoy full equality with men, any immodesty shown to them was treated with great severity. In an account of *forcible marriage*, called *Iputut*, prevalent among the Santhal, W. G. Archer refers to the practice by which the would-be groom who marked the forehead of his prospective bride forcibly with vermillion, was pinioned and beaten by the members of the bride's family until he was almost dead.¹³ If this practice is an index to the code of honour observed by the Santhal for his women-folk, it is easy to imagine how the people were driven to frenzy by the undisguised dishonouring of their womenfolk.

Hence the refrain came spontaneously from his tormented heart,

Saheb Rule is trouble full

Shall we go or stay?

Eating, drinking, clothing,

for everything we were troubled

Shall we go or shall we stay?¹⁴

Soon the report went about that God was reincarnate on earth to deliver the Santhals from the oppression and help them to regain their hold over their lost kingdom. "In the garden-enclosure of their leader's home", wrote Sherwill in 1856, "was erected the proper figure of their *Thakoor*. There was a small circular mound of mud, two feet in diameter and raised some three inches from the circumjacent earth, upon the centre of which was another very small circle, a knob of mud, raised also some three inches,

11. Vide *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXVI (1856), p. 241. Cited by Dr. K.K. Dutta in his *Santhal Insurrection*, p. 8.

12. Sitapahari—near Barharwa Rly. Junction on the old E.J. Rly. loop line.

13. W.G. Archer "Forcible Marriage" in *Man in India*, Vol. 25, p. 29.

14. Quoted from W.J. Culshaw's article in *Man in India*, Rebellion number, Dec. 1945. Narahari Kaviraj in his book—*Swadhinata Sangrame Bengla*—presumably renders this into Bengali as follows:

Amra Praja, Sahib Raja, Dukha dibar yama, Tader Bhaye hathbu mora emai naradham? mora Shudha Bhukbu? Na Na mora Rukhbo. As the original is not available, it is difficult to say how far it accords with the former. W.G. Archer and G.G. goren, *Her Seren (Santhal Songs)*, Dumka, 1943.

and about two inches in diameter. This figure was a cart-wheel ! At first it was sheltered beneath a spread umbrella. But soon a nobler canopy was constructed of wicker-work. Before this figure, the villagers were instructed to present their offerings of grain and milk and to sacrifice the kid and buffalo."

Thus the Santhal, in his ardour to free himself from the tentacles of the alien system of administration, the Sahib-i-Raj, evolved a cult of incarnation and a symbol of worship. As W. C. Taylor, Assistant Magistrate, wrote to F. S. Mudge, "One of their gods is supposed to have taken the flesh and to have made his appearance at some place near this and it is his intention to reign as King over all this part of India."¹⁵

According to Shaikh Sunnoo, some Santhals had told him that the Thakur had given them a paper declaring that "there has been much sin in this country and that he gave them the kingdom."¹⁶ Thus the Santhal was unwittingly raising the same cry of reinstalling the Dharma-Raiya which was given utterance to by some of his Hindu compeers two years later, in 1857.

This is an echo of the Hindu sentiment expressed in the Bhagavad Gita:

“धर्म ददा हि धर्मस्य रक्षनिभवति भारत ।
अस्मृत्यानन्धर्मस्य तदात्मानं सूक्ष्महम् ॥”

“Whenever Right declines and wrong prevails, then Bharata, I incarnate.”

In the manifesto issued by Sidhu and Kanu to the inhabitants of Rajmahal, it was stated that "Mother Ganges (Ganga Mai) will come to his (the Thacoor's) assistance. Fire will rain from heaven".¹⁷ They should therefore voluntarily clear out of this country and cross over to the other side of the Ganges. The new dispensation announced the reduction of the rent to one anna for a bullock plough, two annas for a buffalo plough.

Under the impulse of a wave of feeling, which was as sudden as it was mysterious, the Santhal gave vent to his feelings in ballads such as the following:—

Sido and Kanhu in Palkies
Chand and Bhaero on horses;
O brother Chand, O boy Bhaero
Bhaero on the horse looks dejected.

15. Letter No. 1.

16. Letter No. 2.

17. Letter No. 5A.

II

On Sawalak Hill

Dato Manjhi's daughter

Hanged herself from a mango-tree

At Gopikandar Bungalow

The Deputy held his court

And tired us with his questions.

Sido, why are you bathed in blood?

Kanhu, why do you cry Hul, Hul?

For our people we have bathed in blood

For the trader thieves

Have robbed us of our land.

The Santhal not only borrowed from his neighbour's scriptures in inaugurating the new Order but adopted from him such royal title as *Adwait-Dharmavatar*: (Primary cause, Incarnation of virtue).¹⁸

In it occur epithets *Sarvopampujya Dharma Sarir Dharma*.¹⁹ He was carried about in palanquins escorted by his followers. He also tried to organise the nucleus of an administrative machinery on the model of the system which had been supplanted by the British. In the group of letters from 6a-6m, mention is made of such officials as *Nazir*, *Jamadar*, *Dewan*, *Piyada* who invoked the assistance of the Thakur. Letter 6d shows how articles such as gold, silver, brass, and tusser cloth were kept in the custody of the *Dewan*.

There is evidence in letter No. 6e of the Santals being organised into military units. The commands issued in the name of the Thakur have a typically Santhali flavour. "You must come", runs the command in letter after letter "or your head will be cut off."

The question would arise, who organised this campaign of liberation for the Santhal? Did it mature in the head of Sidhu or was the brain

18. Letter No. 6c.

19. Letter No. 6e.

supplied by a Hindu or a Muslim. The contemporary records discovered so far disavow the hand of the ex-Amir Mir Abbas Ali of Sind who lived at that time in Hazaribagh and organised hunts with the aid of the Santhals. But there is one significant letter which is addressed by one Durga Charan Manjhi to Moori Manjhi and Pores Sen.²⁰ In it Durga Manjhi assures Moori and Pores Sen that "*There will be no plundering because the vengeance of the Thakoors will fall on the offenders.*"

The status of these two persons in the newly created Santhal hierarchy is not revealed by any document. Does the assurance contained therein suggest that they had some directing power in the movement?

Letter No. 1

FROM

W. S. Taylor, Esqre.

To

F. S. Mudge, Esqre.

Sreecond, Dated 7th July, 1855

My dear Mudge,

There is a great gathering of Santhals 4 or 5,000 men at a place about 8 miles off and I understand that they are all well armed with bows and arrows, tulwars, spears &c, and that it is their intention to attack all the Europeans round and plunder and murder them. The cause of all this is that one of *their Gods is supposed to have taken the flesh and to have made his appearance at some place near this*, and that it is his intention to reign as a king over all this part of India, and has ordered the Santhals to collect and put to death all the Europeans and influential, natives round.

Letter No. 2

The Deposition of Sheikh Sunnoo taken on oath on the 9th July 1855 before the Assistant Magistrate of Aurungabad. (Enclosed with a letter from the Magistrate of Murshedabad, dated the 9th July).

Question—Relate what you know about the assemblage of the Santhals and the murder.

20. I compared the typed copy with the original in the *writers' Building* and found that the word was Pores Sen. But there is a Santhali surname 'Soren'. So without consulting the original document in Santhali which is not available in the Calcutta Archives, it cannot be definitely stated that a Bengali Hindu was involved.

Answer—Hearing that a Thacoor (a God) has come out of the earth in Bhaugnodehee, I went about 13 days ago to see it. There I saw that about 7,000 Santhals were assembled, armed with bows and arrows, swords &c. I asked them about the Thacoor; *Kaloo Santhal and his 2 brothers* told me that the Thacoor appeared in the house, and they showed me a written paper stating that the *Thacoor gave them that paper and told them that there has been much sin in this country*, that he gave them the Kingdom, and that they should kill those and plunder their property who would not submit to obey them, and that they should drive the English from the forts, on which I said it was a paper not given by God but by some Europeans. On this they took me a prisoner and kept me for some 5 days. In the meantime I managed to write to the Darogahs of Dighee and Tikaree informing them of this rising, cautioning them not to come alone, but with a military force. The Darogah of Dighee came to Punchketa accompanied with Burkundauzes and other persons. From thence he sent for the Santhals 2 or 300 of whom came to him, and asked him why did he bind Motoo Purrushnauth: the Darogah said a Dacoity was committed last year and an illegal assemblage has taken place this year. I have therefore bound Motoo, on which Shidoo said the Thacoor has risen in my house; therefore bind me. Thus saying he tied the Darogah and killed him with his sword and killed many other persons that had gone with him.

I understand the insurgents are led by four brothers two of them named Sedu & Kano respectively, that they move in large bodies and are armed with swords, guns and poisoned arrows, that they attack the villages in the day-time only, that it is a fanatical movement fomented by the measures taken to increase the Revenue of the Government Khas Mehals, & Pergunnahs Sultanabad, Ambour and Kankijah.* They have elected a King, who is carried about in a Pulkee & accompanied by a retinue partaking of a regal character. One of the leaders above mentioned viz. Sedu cut off by a sword with his own hands the heads of four of the Degges thannah Burkundazes, as also that of the Darogah, his thannah belongs to the jurisdiction of Bhaugalpore. It is also reported that the Santhals have Hindustanees amongst them, but I don't believe this. They wear the clothes, which they looted and this circumstance has given rise to the report that Hindustanees have joined them.

It has also been reported to me that the house of the Ranee of Pacour, by name Khema-Soondry has been looted and taken possession of and that the village has been razed to the ground.

*Kankijah—evidently Kankjol.

Letter No. 9

From

A. Aden, Assistant-in-Charge of the Sub-division of Aurangabad,
Aurangabad, 9th July, 10 A.M.

To

W. Grey, Secretary to Government.

I just write you one line at night to let you know that there are disturbances of a most serious description taking place in this neighbourhood. The Santhals or Hill people have risen with the avowed object of killing all the Europeans they can and every native of influence.

* * * * *

The particulars are all obtained from a man who was caught prowling about to-day and whom I believe to be a spy sent to look at the country. On the day of the Full Moon, the Santhals began to collect at Moodur-pore (a place about 40 miles from here) and at present 9,000 are collected. They go and loot villages daily 4 or 5. They say this is at the order of a God who they have incarnated in the person of a Child and whom they carry with them. *They say that these orders are to kill every European and every man of influence and this child is to reign as God and King.* The Darogah of Degee (Government Khas Mehal) came out with five Burkundazes, they killed him and the other Burkundazes as also 5 Moodies and cut off their heads. They then got hold of the Putneedar and cut off his head and those of some of his people, killing in all that day 17 people. I have heard this from two eye-witnesses, one of whom is, I feel, a spy, the other an up-country man, a servant of a Planter.

* * * * *

The Sunnud they have which they state was given to them by this Government is stated to be in *English*. But my authority is a Native who cannot read English; he was with them 10 days and they made him their writer, says he warned the Darogah not to come. The main points, he states, have been corroborated by others; but I feel sure by his manner that he is sent down as a spy and I have placed him in custody. He says the name of the ring leader is Sidoo. *They speak of the Fouz (or army) and are divided into sepoys and other officers.* It is evidently a planned and concerted thing and as the Santhals are generally the most timid people in the world and dreadfully afraid of the Police, I am confident that all this is at the instigation of some one else. I was with them some months this year with 300 or 400 always with me and I found them most respectful and civil and on good terms with the Europeans.

* * * * *

Letter No. 4

Bullye Santhal, Manjee, son of Bushye, aged 35, Occupation Cultivator, Caste Sonthal, inhabitant of Bahoo or Barah Masseeah, Pargana, Tilleagur.

Question—What defence have you to the charge of coming with the Sonthals to plunder?

Answer—I came to plunder.

Question—Where had you arranged to go and plunder.

Answer—After plundering Rukunsha, we looted the residence of the Moheshpore Rajah; then turned back, and went north and plundered all the villages along the bank of the river, and we had settled to go as far as Bhaugulpore. I murdered no one with my own hand, I came with the others and have been seized. I was present at the looting of many villages and the three Rupees that were (found) with me I got at the plundering of a Rajah's near Agoonoyah. And we divided all the Rupees. All the other property has been taken to *Takoor Sidoo* and *Kaloo*'s* house (or this may mean that the *Takoor* named *Sidu* has taken the *Mal* to *Kaloo*'s house) and when we attack villages, the people run away and the plunderers take everything. And many people have been murdered, six men were murdered at *Pookuray*† I can't say exactly how many have been killed at other places. We have not carried off any people (into the Hills) but we murdered every one we could catch—those we could not catch, ran away—I don't know whether *Rajemehal* has been plundered or not—the above-named *Sidu* and *Kaloo* declared themselves Rajahs and said they would plunder the whole country and take possession of it—they said also, no one can stop us; for it is the order of *Takoor*. On this account we have all come with them. (I guess from this that *Sidoo* and *Kaloo* are both called "Takoor" leaders probably). There were with us two or three thousand *Pahareeahs*, and there were of us Sonthals, seven or eight thousand; I don't know the names of the *Sirdars* of the *Paharees*. *There were five or six Palkies with us. Sidoo and Kaloo ride in them. Whatever horses we found at "Putgutteah" were mounted by the Sonthal, "Darogahs" (Sirdars)* but I don't know their names. When we came to water, we put down wood and earth, so as to make a bridge and crossed. We had all swords; some of us had made new ones—And we found many in the villages we plundered. I plundered no property. Only got three Rupees and a few Chuddars and I have been plundering for three days.

**Kaloo*—evidently *Kano*.

†*Pookuray*—evidently *Pakur*.

Letter No. 5

FROM

A. C. Bidwell,

Special Commissioner for the suppression of the Santhal Insurrection.

To

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Fort William.

Dated Bhaugulpore, 13th September, 1855

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1990 dated 13th Ultimo and in accordance with the instructions contained therein to submit the original Perwannah sent by Seedoo and Kanoo to the residents at Rajmehal together with a careful translation of the same.

I have &c.

Sd./- A. C. Bidwell,

Spl. Commr.

Signed. Seedo Manjee.

do. Kanoo Manjee.—at the place where the Thakoor has descended.

A. The Thacoor's Perwannah—

The Thakoor has descended in the house of Seedoo Manjee, Kanoo Manjee, Bhyrub and Chand, at Bhugnadihec in Pergunnah Kanjeala.¹ The Thakoor in person is conversing with them; he has descended from Heaven. He is conversing with Kanoo and Seedoo. The Sahibs and the white soldiers will fight. Kanoo and Seedoo Manjee are not fighting. The Thakoor himself will fight. Therefore, if you Sahibs and soldiers fight with the Thakoor himself, *Mother Ganges will come to the Thacoor's (assistance). Fire will rain from Heaven.* If you are satisfied with the Thakoor then you must go to the other side of the Ganges. The Thacoor has ordered the Santhals that for a bullock plough 1 anna is to be paid for Revenue, Buffaloo plough 2 annas. The reign of Truth has begun. True justice will be administered. He who does not speak the truth will not be allowed to remain on the earth. The Mahajuns have committed a great sin. The Sahibs and the *amlah*² have made everything mad. In this the Sahibs have sinned greatly.—

Those who tell things to the Magistrate and those who investigate cases for him take 70 or 80 Rupees with great oppression. In this the sahibs have sinned; on this account the Thakoor has ordered me saying that the

1. Kanjeala—Is it not miswritten for Kankjol?

2. Amlah—officials.

country is not the Sahibs. If you don't obey this order, send an answer in a perwannah—If you are satisfied send a perwannah by all means (zuroor).

Dated 10 Saon 1262.

P.S.—If you Sahibs agree, then you must remain on the other side of the Ganges, and if you don't agree you can't remain on that side of the river. I will rain fire and all the Sahibs will be killed by the hand of God in person; and Sahibs if you fight with muskets the Sonthals will not be hit by the bullets and the Thakoor will give your elephants and

Direction horses of his own accord to the Santhals, and

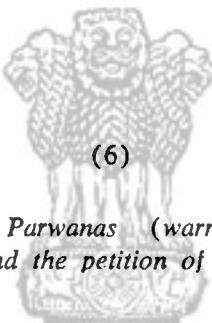
This Perwannah is sent from Bhugnadihee to the Sahibs of Rajmchhal—the Thakoor's perwannah. on seeing this perwannah you will understand all and you will send an answer and if you fight with the Sonthals two days will be as one day and two nights as one night. This is the order of Thakoor.

Sd./- S. EDEN,

Spl. Commr.

(6)

Translation of vernacular Parwanas (warrants) issued by the arch-leaders, Sidho and Kanu and the petition of the Purganaitis to Sidho and Kanu.



(6a)

To

Chota Nazir and Soraie Jemadar.

In the name of Kanoo Thacoorjee and Shedhoo Thacoorjee.

Lct it be known that on the receipt of this Purwannah you bring your Zemindars, Ijaradars and ryots to *Burhait*¹ without loss of time. If otherwise your head will be cut off. You must travel day and night with your *Naqra*.²

P.S.—You must travel with all speed and with your horns, flutes, *Naqaras* and *Dunkas*.³—11th Shrabun 1262.

1. Burhait—the stronghold of the insurgent Santhals.

2. Naqra—Kettle drum.

3. Dunkas—drums.

(6b)

The Choto Nazir, Caloo Nazir and others and your respective ryots—

Thacoorjee Kanoo Thacoorjee Shedhoo Thacoorjee—*Bajs* Thacoorjees present their respects and request that on the receipt of this Purwannah you will come with your *gomastas*¹ and ryots &c. without loss of time. The Shahebs are fighting very hard. We want to petition and unless you (Thacoors) come we cannot rely on ourselves. You (Thacoors) are requested to come to Bhagea².

1262.

(6c)

From Bhagee Manjhee, Purganait.

To Awdit dhurm Awotar—(Adwait Dharma Avatar).

Shreejoot Thacoor Baba—

We have no hopes of surviving. The English have surrounded us. I would have attacked Rajmehal. The spies are out. One Saheb has arrived at Bhalgora in Rajmehal close to us. I hear he is making iron chains and carrying away all the Sonthals. For fear of this we cannot move for who knows when they may kill us. We are waiting for the Thacoor's Command.

28th Assar 1262.

P.S.—The English and the sepoys are all marching towards us the Officers on elephants.

(6d)

Thacoorjee Thacoor sends his commands in this Purwana through Dewan Manjee of Mooroojora that gold, silver, copper, brass, iron, Oxen, Cows, Tussur, cloth and all articles for Thacoor's *pooja* from the south, will be brought here in the Thacoor's presence, after a careful examination by *Dewan Manjee*. That Mutta Muanjee of Jurdehee has sent a true *purwana* of the Thacoor in my name directing that all things as well as Nehee Coomar Malee and *Mahut* should be under my care; and the things of the bazars also should be deposited with me and that if this is not done, the Thacoor will inflict punishment.

9th Assar 1262.

¹ Gomastas—Subordinate Officers.

² Bhagea—6½ miles south east of Piatapur.

(6e)

To Shree Surb Wopomajua—(*Sarbopam Puja*^{*})

Dhurm Sarir Dhurm—(*Dharm Sarir Dharma*^{**})

Sutur Shreejoot Bhagee—

We have no leisure to go. The English troops are arresting all the Sonthals; we are very much frightened. I have eleven companys of men with me. I am fighting very hard. Canoo and Shedoo both of us are writing to you and waiting for the Thacoor's orders. If he sends none, all the Sonthals will be killed by the 5th instant. Your not coming to join will very much disappoint us. The English troops commanded by the *Barrah Saheb* are stationed at Bursuda. Thacoors You must make haste to come, and if you don't *the eleven Jublug or companys of men will get angry*. I send this complimentary note, that you will positively come on the naffa day with this prayer I remain.—

28th Assur 1262.

Sd/- Kaloo Manjhee of Munyen Um.

(6f)

Hathum Manjhee and Jundoo Manjee—these two men are going to wait upon you; they will relate to you my own condition and the state of these villages. They will tell you the true story. It is this my prayer that you shall pass an order that the swatoomars (or sonthals) of this place may not plunder the villages. Let it be asked to Shawhon parganait and Bhujhea parganait of Bujramund whether they and their people looted by order of the Thacoor or not and if the former the better. It was the wish of the people that on your Excellency's arrival in this place, we the merchants of all class after consulting with Chandoo Manjhee, Annunt Manjhee and Goyaram should proclaim your arrival and order for provisions being kept ready for troops, but they without your order have looted all and thus disobeyed you. It is now left to your Excellency's will and fair consideration. I am ready to obey whatever you will command me and until these men come back, we are safe.

Friday 1262.

(6g)

It is Caloo Thacoor's and Shedhoo Thacoor's general order that you Wanoo purganat of Luchmipore on the receipt of this purwannah should

*Most revered.

**Embodyment of incarnation.

come to *Wanden* and if you don't your head shall be cut off. Be it also known to you that Motee Show, *piada* (footman) has come down from the Thacoor and you are therefore ordered to attend.

6th Shrabun 1262.

Sd/- Chooto Nazir, Panchoo Monjhee of Bara.

P.S.—You must positively come on Friday and make no delay whatever.

(6h)

To Thacoorjee.

The Ryots of Modhoobun have taken to flight; there is way for running away. The Shaheb has shot from a distance; our men are not hurt at all by the favour of the Thacoor. They have been saved. Thacoorjee Send your commands very soon or else the ryots will all be ruined.

(6i)

Choto Nazir, Canoo Nazir and Sarai Jemadar present their respects to Thacoor Shree Canoo Thakoorjee, Shree Sheddoo Thacoorjee, Shree Bagee Thacoorjee and Shree Sobhu Thacoorjee of Bhagandehi and state that two inhabitants of Bhuged are shot dead but we have been saved by praying to the Thacoor. Send his blessing to us and you come here in person. The Sahcbs are fighting hard. We are much disheartened. Send your commands soon. The Nazir and Jemadar have sent their Purwana which will reach you.

सन्यमेव जयने

Bhogandehe.

Urgent letter.

11th Shrabun 1262.

(6j)

Choto Nazir, Canoo Nazir and others the Jemadar and ryots of Modhobun and Munharee presents their respects to Canoo Thakoorjee, Sheddoo Thacoorjee and Bage Thacoorjee and state that they are in great danger. The Shahebs are fighting hard. We are much disheartened and have therefore sent you a petition. You Thacoors must come at Bhugut Mokan and if you don't the ryots will run away. Therefore we sent this hasty letter; come.

Bhugandehee.

Urgent letter.

13th Shrabun.

(6k)

To Thakoor Chundro Aubotar Sreejoot Caloo Thacoor and Sreejoot Sedhoo Thacoor—From Rooproory Ghatwal.

A Purwannah has reached us from Shree Shree Thacoor at *Bhugnodehee* and I have acquainted myself with the tidings it contains. It commands us all the ryots to be loyal and to take courage and by the blessings of the Thacoor, we are all loyal and have taken courage. We are always praying to the Thacoor and whatever commands he will give us, we shall obey very submissively. Let me hear of what is going on here and there that I may be emboldened.

. 18 Aussur 1262.

Sd/-Kossrooroy Ghatwal.

(6l)

To Morrie Manjhee and Poresh Sen From Durga Charan Manji.

Our Thacoor is an incarnation of the Deity and has made his appearance at Bhugun in Kajeeah. Rest assured that *there will be no plundering, for the vengeance of the Thacoor will undoubtedly fall on the offenders.*

11th Srabun 1262.

(6m)

To Sidhoo Thacoor, Kanoo Thakoor and Bhoirub Thacoor after usual respects.

Ram Manjee has written a letter to you. This letter we have perused. Ram Manjhee has written to you that at Baleeah Narainpore your forces are dying and that they have been stopped and plundered in their way. Be that as it may, the people of the country and ourselves lived formerly in great happiness but since this Hangaum (outbreak) the lands are lying waste, and men, beasts of burden and other living creatures are in trouble and distress. If you are truly virtuous Thacoors, you will save the country and view this letter as many of its kind. Dated 1262 the month of Srabun.

The above mentioned paper—the zemindars of Pergunnahs Sooltanabad and Ambar and the Jubdee Sircar (Govt. mehals) and Pergunnahs Molehatta Massarah &ca. We also forward another paper, the reply to these you will send immediately to Alam Majee in Gar-Paharee and to Dhebah Manjhee of all-Paharee.

Superscription

Very worshipfull Sidhoo Manjhee Thacoor and Kanoo Manjhee Thacoor. From Gar Paharee to reach Bhugandeehee Pergunnah Kajehah. Virtue lives in all Joogs, Suththu (Satya) Trotta (Treta) dwapar, and kali. What more shall we write.—

Further hereafter.—

[Some words seem to have been omitted here]

In the great cause Thakoor's Hookooms and Chootoo Nazirs Hookooms left out by the copyist — — —

*—send—Know that the Shaheb of Modhubun is fighting very hard and that the sonthals are running away and have sent to know what orders you will give. If none is given all the sonthals will run away come in haste—the Shahebs have collected at Point. Dated 4th Shrabun 1262.—

Sd/- Besun Manjhee of Bhugnadehee.

*Left out by the copyist in Mr. Toogood's office as unintelligible.

7

From Oct. Toogood, Esqr., Magistrate of Moorshedabad.

To W. Grey, Esqr., Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, *Fort William*.

Dated Berhampore 11th August 1855.

Sir,

I have the honour to send for the perusal of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor 48 letters &ca. which I found in Sedu and Kanu's tin Box at Bhugnadhee. I have been endeavouring to get them translated but have not been able to succeed.

I have the honour to be &c.

Sd/- Oct. Toogood, Magistrate.

Dhaoo?

Dakhil.

Let

(a) Made over to Chotto Nazir.

Hookumnamah of Sree Kanoo Thakoor Sidoo Thakur, to Shobha Manjey of Pergunnah Tussa Moona kharee¹ Tuppai Monaharee, on the sight of Purwannah you all must be in attendance. If you do not attend, your head will be cut off. Know all these words. A peon named Bhetsaye has come from the Thakoor; you are therefore hereby summoned.

Dated 6th Sawun of 1262.

(On the back)

Must be present in the course of 3 days.

Dhao?

Dakhil.

2nd

Made over to Chotto Nazir and Kanoo Nazir and others, and to the Iazaradars of the tuppas, and pergunnahs &c, and to the ryots.

Mercy and justice (Dohoae) of Sree Kanoo Thakoor, Sree Sedoo Thakoorjee, and Sree Nij Thakoorjee. Salutation and low bows of Chutto Nazir and Kanoo Nazir and others, owners of Pergunnahs and others, and Ijaradars and others, and the ryots of Tuppai Mookool, and Tuppai Moneeharee. At present we are the very dependants (Ohee tabehdar²) and the Sahebs are fighting many battles. We are very much dissatisfied. It was for this that some Arzees more are sent. You Thakoorjee must come to Ghoogowa. You Thakoorjee fly from Luguagaina to Tappa Kahulgaw. It is for this that this urgent arzeec is written. May it reach to you.

Dated, Bhugnadihee, Zorrer, 13th Sawun of 1262.

3rd

Chutoo Nazir Kanoo Nazir, Suroy Jemadar of Bhogaya and of Dakaita.
(Here in Persian Characters, No. 10 Rokka reached Bhugnadhee Rampore).

Mercy and justice (Dhoe) of Thakoor Kanoo Thakoorjee, Sree Sedu Thakoorjee, and Sree Nij Thakoorjee of Bhugnadihee. Salutations and bows of Choto Nazir, Soorae Jemadar, and Kanoo Nazir. Contents of the

¹This Mona Kharee is presumably Manihari.

²Ohee= Divine Command, Tabehdar= servant.

Ohee Tabehdar= Servants of Divine Command.

Arzee. Two persons of Bhugaya are dead with balls. Mercy and justice of Thakoorjee! how can (our) lives be protected. Send medicines; and you Thakoorjee must come to[.]. The Sahebs are fighting many battles. We are very dissatisfied, and it is on account of this a Perwannah is issued. Mercy and justice of Thakoorjee. The Jemadar and Nazir have sent the purwannah in person. May it reach Bhugnadihee Zoroor.

Dated 11th Sawun 1262.

4th

At pergunnah Kunjeyala of Bhugnadihee, the Thakoor has become an incarnation. The Kookun Perwannah of the Thakoor is sent (to this effect) that many of the *Gora Regiments* of the English are now gathering together at Rajmehal. They are flying with much fears of the Sonthals. The English have commenced to kill Thakoorjee.

This is in Nagree

Salutation to Swaroswatijee (Goddess of War). Here follow some lines in Bengalee character.

Sree Sree Hari

San 1262.

Adawlut Fouzdaree Zillah Beerbboom. Salutation to the protectors of the poor the undermentioned representation of your servant (no name).

In Bengalee

(Here two lines in Nagree) The Thakoor has become an incarnation at Bhugnadihee in Pergunnah Kunjeyala. Here goes the Hookum Perwannah of the Thakoor.

This is in Nagree

(In Bengalee) *Sree Sree Hari San 1262.*

Hundreds of Salutations and representations of Konoelaul¹ *Mohant* your servant—That, by the blessing of your feet everything concerning his life is very prosperous. My next representation is this that I have not heard anything of you.

Bengalee

(It is broken off here)

5th

(No notice of party addressing or addressed)

Oh: Thakoor, and Sooba, one man is struck with balls and is not to live. Mercy and justice of the Thakoor—Send a letter and a dagger Quick

1. Konoelaul—Kanailal.

Thakoor—quick Thakoor—quick Oh, Sooba! come soon. None of your Sepoy appears to live, and is dead with balls. Bring medicines, and bring the same soon and with care (no date).

(On the other side) you must come.

6th

Ramjee.

Signature of Sedoo Thakoorjee, Signature of Kanoo Thakoorjee.

The Thakoor has become an incarnation at Bhugnadihee in pergunnah Kunjeyala. The Hookum purwannah of the Thakoor is sent. Get it written clear from the place from which it is issued. Cannot be understood. Who can be placed in charge of Talook? We could not understand.

Dated 9th Sawun 1262.

7th

Ramjee Sahoy—Salutations.

To Sree Siddoo Thakoorjee and Kanoo Thakoorjee—

While Pussorlaul Sircar was going back from Moheshpore gurh to Mouzah Rampore (two) Bengalees (named) Haro Chand and Noi Chund said that they will pay three hundred Rupees. Should Sree Thakoor grant 4000 Rupees I will release them otherwise I will not let them go away. Noian Chund and Haru Doss are very wicked persons. Signature of *Pussor Lol* by the hand of another person. Sircar of Bhudriya.

(On the other side)

Release will not be allowed on payment of Rs. 300. Such release is to be granted on payment of (one) thousand Rupees Foorhee Majhi Sircar remained at Rampore—a Perwannah was passing from Ghahee-waree, he had a sight of it.—

(On side of the paper) not agreed to.

8th

Received on counting one hundred loads which will be credited as Fado an inhabitant of Bidi (Pheuteer pheneega) arrows will pass (Zaroor Jumma).

THE KABUL WAR (FEBRUARY 1837 TO SEPTEMBER 1840)

V. S. SURI

Keeper of Records, Government of Punjab, Patiala

The conclusion of the Tripartite Treaty (1838) among the East India Company, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk and Maharaja Ranjit Singh placed a heavy duty and responsibility upon the British authorities who were believed to be committed to the policy of placing a friendly ruler on the throne of Afghanistan as much in their own interest as in that of the exiled Shah, the prisoner at Ludhiana. Maharaja Ranjit Singh seemed to have been dragged into the affair as the faithful ally of the British, but not out of any respect or regard for the Shah. The sagacious Sikh ruler had little hope of any gain from the adventure in collaboration with the British and their 'helpless' dependant.

As the initiators of the tripartite scheme the execution of the expedition to Kabul largely devolved on the East India Company. The plans had to be drawn up by the Company not only on their own part but also on the part of Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk, their protege, who had practically no resources.

As soon as the blue-print of the expedition had been prepared the British authorities set about the task of bringing together adequate forces, supplies and other requisites for the fateful expedition.

The vast preparations made by the Governor-General and his staff in pursuance of the Tripartite Treaty are clearly revealed by a mass of official documents arranged under the head 'The Kabul War'. The collection of records covering 2059 pages of memoranda, circular letters, sketch maps in sizes varying from 10" X 12" to 20" X 60" were recently salvaged from the Commissioner's office, Ambala, where they appear to have been transferred from the Ludhiana Agency from where these had originally emanated.

In view of the peculiar interest which the papers, untapped heretofore, might possess the collection was carefully arranged according to the list of cases prefixed to it. A close study reveals the great efforts which had been made to successfully launch the expedition. The records cover the period from 15th February, 1837 to 1st September, 1840.

First, there were preparations for the bringing together of the Army of the Indus at Ferozepur the bridge head. The march of the four separate sections of the Army, starting from Meerut and Karnal, through the Cis-Sutlej area, and their conjunction at Ferozepur are described in minute detail—the route, the stages of halt and distances between them, details of troops and daily supplies required etc.

The collection opens with circular instructions to British functionaries at various places, and native chiefs and rulers regarding provision of supplies, repairs of roads etc. in connection with the movement of troops. The various persons concerned report back the progress of the jobs assigned to them and numerous difficulties experienced by them.

The scheduled route for the Army of the Indus is defined. Boats etc. are to be collected at Harike ferry under orders of Capt. C. M. Wade, Political Agent to the Governor General at Ludhiana.

Damaged, deteriorated and unserviceable roads are required to be expeditiously repaired and reconditioned. Bridges and culverts are desired to be set right or constructed. Strict instructions are issued to persons concerned to urge the slackers and defaulters to quicker action. Letters are sent to Chiefs and Sardars of the respective territories through which the troops had to pass. The local officials, functionaries and dignitaries are advised to arrange for the clearance and widening of the roads and passages and provision of labour and supplies.

Sketch plans of various routes, halting stages with distances, facilities available on the spot, serais, wells, ponds and area etc. were drawn for reference.

The movement of the troops, arrival at different places, particulars regarding numbers and period of halt have all been given for the guidance of the persons entrusted with the arrangements for stay of the troops at various stages.

Detailed information was conveyed regarding movement of the four sections of the Army of the Indus which were to converge at Ferozpur by separate routes:

A. Route—Karnal, Thanesar, Shahabad, Ambala, Sirhind, Ludhiana, Kot Isa Khan, Mohan Singhwala and Ferozpur. Two regiments
Type and number of troops of Turk sowars, two troops of Goras, Topkhana sowars and two companies

of Gora Topkhana and Footmen. Numbers of men, horses, bullocks and camels and the quantities of daily supplies required were indicated.

B. Route—Karnal, Khola, Samana, Mansurpur, Malerkotla, Bassian, Talwandi Baraj and Ferozpur.
Type and number of troops One regiment of Gora platoon, one Pioneer Company and five Talanga platoons. The numbers of men and camels and details of daily supplies required were given.

C. Route—Karnal, Kaithal, Sunam, Bhadour, Mudki and Ferozpur.
Type and number of troops Two regiments of Gora platoon, platoon of Talangas and Pioneer Company.

D. Route—Meerut, Muradnagar, Farrukhnagar, Delhi (Lahori gate), Shahabad, Syedpur, Gohana, Dhamtal, Faridkot, Bah and Ferozpur.

Type and number of troops One regiment Gora cavalry, one regiment of Turk sowars and Camel battery.

As usual, details of men and animals and daily supplies required at different places were given. The dates of departure of the various sections from the respective stations and arrival at Ferozpur were indicated in every case to ensure proper arrangements *en route* and at the destination. There are large numbers of requests by contractors for payment of bills in respect of goods supplied as per orders by the Political Agent to the Governor-General. Losses sustained by them for certain unavoidable reasons are desired to be made good and frequent submissions are made for settlement of dues or payment of advance money.

Along with their own preparations for the expedition to Kabul the British authorities also attended to the recruitment of troops and procurement of supplies for the King (Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk). A special officer was appointed for the purpose and terms and conditions of service were specified. Offers of recruitment were received from persons at different places.

Particular difficulties were experienced in procuring adequate animals—camels and bullocks—for transport, Banjaras and supplies of grain and other requisites. Specific numbers of camels and bullock carts were allocated to be supplied from different areas by jagirdars, chiefs and native rulers. From Karnal alone no less than 7000 camels were required to be provided for transport of equipment and supplies.

Once the routes to be taken by the various sections of the army to move to Ferozpur were well defined and mapped out by the local officials, specially appointed sowars and peons were required to submit reports about the condition of roads and the provision of supplies at the different stages. Through regular patrolling the functionaries were asked to report about any special obstructions caused by local kardars or shortages in the supplies.

Any problems arising in connection with the satisfactory conduct of the troops were solved by correspondence with the parties and chiefs concerned. The government agents bring to the notice of the authorities the peculiar difficulties experienced by them in procuring adequate supplies from different parts of the country and lack of assistance and co-operation given by kardars of certain chiefs and rulers. The quantities of goods purchased and rates of different commodities prevailing in different parts of the country are given in detail. 'Pulasdars' and Procurement Officers, Kardars and Amins have been assigned the job of making preliminary arrangements.

Progress reports on the movement of troops from stage to stage are furnished to government.

At the same time preparations are afoot for the journey of the King (Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk) to Afghanistan. In addition to the recruitment of troops on his behalf steps have been taken for the employment of Palki-bearers for the female members of his family and maid-servants. For the carriage of Palkis from Ludhiana to Kabul large numbers of bearers were recruited at the rate of Rs. 6/- p.m. for Kahar and Rs. 9/- p.m. for the Mate. On return from Kabul the bearers were to receive a reward of Rs. 9/- per head and the Mate Rs. 13/8/-. For every batch of 50 Kahars or bearers one Mate or Sirdar was to be appointed.

The papers reveal the elaborate preparations made by the British authorities for the fateful expedition to Kabul to restore Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk to the throne. Though mainly pertaining to commissariat work they furnish valuable information about the planning, procurement of supplies and progress of the expedition on the first stage of the march up to Ferozpur. The Army of the Indus thus brought together at the bridgehead of Ferozpur proceeded further towards Afghanistan. The study of the large bulk of papers may be found useful to form a clear idea of the magnitude of the task undertaken by the East India Company in the organisation and prosecution of the expedition to Kabul under the inspiration of Forward Policy and the driving force of Lord Auckland.

A RARE EDICT OF NUR JAHAN

A. I. TIRMIZI

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It was during my official visit to Broach that I chanced upon the Family Papers of Inamdar Sayyid Haydar*, a descendant of Hakim Ruh Allah—the renowned physician of Emperor Jahangir. While scanning through the collection I came across a rare edict of Empress Nur Jahan relating to restoration of grant made to the aforesaid Hakim. The document, which has been in the custody of the lineal descendants of the donee for more than three centuries, is in a fairly good state of preservation.

The present edict, like other Mughal rescripts, begins with a *sar-nama* (superscription). Just below the *sar-nama* towards the left is the *tughra* of Nur Jahan designed in golden ink. Parallel to the *tughra* towards the right is a beautiful seal of the Empress comprising four elliptical panels. The first and the last panels are smaller than the remaining two. The text which is executed in exquisite *nastaliq* style of Persian calligraphy consists of six lines of which the first two are shortened as was customary with the Imperial Mughal edicts. It is interesting to note that the first two lines of *faraman-i-sultani* or Royal edicts were shortened in order to distinguish them from the chancellery orders called *ahkam-i-diwani*. The present edict does not bear any *zimn* or endorsements on the reverse. Let us now examine the different sections of the edict in greater detail.

	Transliteration	Translation
<i>Sar-nama :</i>	Allahu akbar	God is greatest (I)
<i>Tughra :</i>	Hukm i 'aliyah i 'aliyah mahd i ulya Nur Jahan Badshah Begam	The decree of the most sublime, cradle of the lofty Nur Jahan Begam, the Empress (II)
<i>Seal : (First panel)</i>	Allahu akbar	God is greatest
(Second , ,)	zcnur i mihi Jahangir Badshah ijahanban 1033	From the love of Emperor Jahangir the protector of the world 1033 (1624 A.D.)
(Third , ,)	nigini Nur Jahan Badshah gasht furozan sinni	the bezel of Empress Nur Jahan derived resplen- dence (III)
(Fourth , ,)	julus 19	19 regnal year

*I am grateful to Shri Haydar for giving me facilities for inspecting and microfilming his Family Papers for the National Archives of India.



A Hukm of Nur Jahan



सत्यमेव जयते

Text : Be it known to Sher Khan, resilient with courage and valour worthy of kindness and favour, entitled to attention and bounty, distinguished and made hopeful by Her Exalted graces, that at this time it has been brought to the exalted notice by the petition of the refuge of learning and reputed servant Hakim Ruh Allah, that one entitled to bounty (*i.e.* Sher Khan) has not delivered two out of the total number of villages granted to him (Ruh Allah) by the royal *farman* as *madad-i-ma'ash* (IV) in entirety and has also imprisoned his writers on the plea that in the royal *farman* the amount is specified. This has not been rightly done. (It is ordered) now that the day that the illustrious *nishan* is received both the aforesaid villages in entirety be delivered to the aforesaid Hakim with effect from the beginning of *fasl-i-Rabi*, *Pars yil*(V). And if accidentally the men of one worthy of favour (*i.e.* Sher Khan) have utilised some of the above harvest it should be returned to the aforesaid Hakim and it should be so arranged that no complaint about it is heard in future and every help and assistance be rendered to him in this connection. This should be considered peremptory. Dated 22 *Urdi bihisi* 22 *Julus* (1627 A.D.).(VI).

The edict has been addressed to Sher Khan whose name according to Jahangir was Nahir Khan. His father Khan Jahan was in the service of the ruler of Asir and Burhanpur. When Khan Jahan died Nahir Khan was very young and was adopted by Hayat Khan as his son. After the death of Hayat Khan, Raja 'Ali Khan brought him up and took good care of him. When Akbar conquered Asir, Nahir Khan joined his service. The emperor raised him to a suitable *mansab* and gave him in *jagir* the *pargana* of Muhammadpur in Malwa¹. Under Jahangir he advanced more and more. On receiving the royal summons he came from the Deccan on Thursday 6 *Urdi bihisi* 1027 A.H. (1618 A.D.) and waited on the emperor on the bank of Kankriya at Ahmedabad². A few days after on Thursday 10 *Shaban* 1027 A.H. (1618 A.D.) he was promoted to the *mansab* of 1,500 *zat* and 1,000 horse and was presented with an elephant at Ahmedabad³. He remained loyal to the royal cause during the revolt of Prince Khurram and was consequently raised to the *mansab* of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and was given a horse and an elephant along with the title of Sher Khan on 22 *Rajab* 1032 A. H. (1623 A.D.) when the Emperor was at Ajmer.⁴

The present edict which is addressed to Sher Khan relates to the restoration of a grant made to Hakim Ruh Allah who should be distinguished from his contemporary namesake Mirza Ruh Allah who died in 1026 A.H.

1. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Bng. tr. Rogers and Beveridge, London, 1914, Vol. II, p. 268.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

(1627 A.D.)⁵ and therefore cannot be identical with the grantee. According to Abd-al-Baqi Nahawandi, Hakim Ruh Allah belonged to Broach. He started his studies at an early age and after acquiring the rudiments of different sciences devoted himself entirely to medicine in which he surpassed his contemporaries. When his reputation spread far and wide the nobles of Akbar like Qilij Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Sadiq sought his company. He waited on Prince Murad and Prince Daniyal after whose death he was employed by Abd-al-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan under whose patronage he advanced more and more⁶. He seems to have entered the royal service as he has been mentioned by Abul Fazl among the physicians of Akbar⁷. He dedicated to Akbar, *Fawa'id al insan*, a book on medicine which he completed in 1004 A.H. (1595 A.D.). Under Jahangir he rose from rank to rank. When the emperor fell sick during his sojourn in Gujarat, Hakim Ruh Allah correctly diagnosed the causes of his illness and advised him thus: "As soon as you moderate your habit of taking wine and opium all these troubles of yours will disappear". When the emperor acted on this advice he found great improvement on the very first day. As a reward for this correct diagnosis the emperor presented him at Ahmedabad with 100 *muhrs* and Rs. 1,000, on Thursday, 27 *Urdi bihiishi* 1027 A.H. (1618 A.D.)⁸. A few months later he was again given a gift of Rs. 1,000 at Ahmedabad⁹. Nur Jahan who accompanied the emperor in his tour of Gurajat also fell sick. All the physicians whether Hindu or Muslim confessed their helplessness in treating her. At this time Hakim Ruh Allah undertook her treatment with the result that in a short time she quite recovered. In reward for this the emperor increased his *mansab* on Thursday, 7 *Azar*, 1027 A.H. (1618 A.D.) and bestowed on him three villages in his native country as his private property and an order was given that he should be weighed against silver which should be given to him as a reward¹⁰. Besides the three villages referred to above the aforesaid Hakim was granted a fourth village named Jawaj (Chawaj) as is evident from the *farman* of Jahangir dated 24 *Rabi' I*, 1032 A.H. (1623 A.D.) found in the collection of Sayyid Haydar. It would not be wrong to conclude that this royal grant of four villages is identical with the *farman* referred to in the edict under discussion.

Single points are as follow:

I. The *sar-nama* bears the sacramental formula *Allahu akbar* which was introduced by Akbar¹¹ and continued in the reign of Jahangir. Prior to

5. Jahangir, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 391; Shah Nawaz Khan, *Mathir al Umara*, Vol. III, C, 1891, p. 13.

6. Abd al Baqi, *Mathir-i-Rahimi*, Vol. III, Cal. 1927, pp 43-44.

7. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akkari*, Vol. I, Eng. tr. H. Blochmann, Cal. 1927, p. 613.

8. Jahangir, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 11-12.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

10. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 53.

11. Badauni, *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, Vol. II tr. W.H. Lowe, Calcutta, 1924, p. 349.

Akbar the invocation commonly used by the Mughal emperors was *Huw-al-ghani* (He is independent). With the passage of time the *sar-nama* lent itself to a great variety.

II. The *tughra* of Nur Jahan is important in as much as it confirms the thesis that the order of the Mughal consort was styled *hukm* as against the order of the Emperor called *farman*. The order of Maryam Zamani with the title of Wali Ni'mat Begam, the mother of Jahangir, and the command of Hamida Banu Begam, the mother of Akbar, have also been denominated *hukms*¹². It may, however, be noted that Babur speaks of his wife Maham Begam's command as *farman*¹³. Similarly the edict under discussion designated as *hukm* in the *tughra* has been referred to as *nishan* in the body of the text. *Nishan*, it may be pointed out, is a missive of a Prince or Princess or the sons of the Princes and bears a *tughra* of the Emperor besides that of the Prince as against *hukm* which is crowned by the *tughra* of the consort only. A *hukm* is, therefore, more akin to a *farman* than *nishan* as far as technical form is concerned.

III. The seal of Nur Jahan bears testimony to the fine aesthetic taste of the Mughal Empress. The four panels are designed in such a way that as a whole they give the appearance of a fully blossomed rose. The first panel gives the sacramental formula *Allahu akbar*. The last panel records the date as 19 regnal year corresponding to 1033 A.H. (1624 A.D.), the year given below the word *jahanban* in the second panel. This evidently is the year of striking the seal and as such a land-mark in determining the ascendancy of the Empress to power. The second and the third panels contain a hemistich each of an elegant Persian verse quite in keeping with the refined taste of the Empress. There is pun on the word *nur* and double pun on *Mihr* which can also be read as *muhr*. *Nur* forms part of the name of the Emperor and also means 'light'. Similarly *mihr* constitutes part of the name of the Empress and also means 'love' while *muhr* means 'seal'.

IV. *Madad-i-Ma'ash*: It stands for grant of means of subsistence. It also means assignment of revenue for the support of learned or benevolent institutions. Such grants are known as *farman-i-madad-i-ma'ash*.

V. *Fasli Rabi Pars yil*: It means spring harvest of Parsyil, the third year of the Turkish Duodenary¹⁴ cycle which consists of 12 solar years. Every new year begins on the day the sun enters Zodiac Aries i.e. on 21 March.

12. Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission Vol. VIII, November, 1925 Facsimile; K.M. Jhaveri, *Imperial Farmans*, Bombay, 1928, Document No. III.

13. Babur, *Babur Nama*, tr. A.S. Beveridge, London, 1921, Vol. II, p. 650.

14. For details see *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 'XXVI, No. 1 January 1952 Article entitled "The Turkish Duodenary cycle and its use by Mughals in India" by Dr. G. H. Khare.

The years are named after animals and each name is followed by the Turkish word *yil* meaning an year. The word *pars*, which precedes *yil* in the present edict, means 'leopard'.

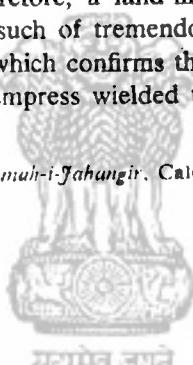
VI. In conclusion it must be noted that the edict which is dated 22 *Urdi bihišti*, 22 *Julus* (1627 A.D.) pertains to the period of Nur Jahan's ascendancy when she was the *de facto* ruler of the Mughal Empire. We are told by Mutamad Khan that Nur Jahan sometimes sat in the *jharokha* and dictated orders to the officers, and coins bearing the following legend were struck in her name:

*Ba hukm-i-Shah-i-Jahangir yaft sad zivar
ba nam i Nur Jahan Badshah Begam zar.*¹⁵

By the order of Emperor Jahangir gold assumed hundred splendours by receiving the name of Nur Jahan, the Empress.

The present edict is, therefore, a land-mark in determining the ascendancy of Nur Jahan and as such of tremendous significance. It also provides documentary evidence which confirms the fact recorded by the contemporary chroniclers that the Empress wielded the sceptre when Jahangir was a confirmed invalid.

15. Mutamad Khan, *Iqbal Namah-i-Jahangir*, Calcutta, 1865, pp. 56-7.



INDIA OFFICE ON THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

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The following excerpts from a few letters of Kimberley and Cross, the Secretaries of State for India in the 1880's, to Lord Dufferin throw some light on the attitude of the British Government to the newly founded Indian National Congress about which there is a good deal of misconception.

The role of the Viceroy and the British Government in the origin of the Congress has been made much of by leftist writers like R. P. Dutt. In his *India To-day* Dutt asserts that "the National Congress was in fact brought into being through the initiative and under the guidance of direct British Governmental Policy, on a plan secretly pre-arranged with the Viceroy, as an intended weapon for safeguarding British rule against the rising forces of popular unrest and anti-British feeling".¹ When the government found Indians thinking of an All-India political organisation it "stepped in to take charge of a movement which was in any case coming into existence and whose development it foresaw was inevitable".² This refers to the initiative of A. O. Hume and his historic meeting with Lord Dufferin in which the Viceroy has been alleged to have persuaded Hume to change his original plan of convening an annual session of Indian politicians to discuss social matters for a political association of loyalist elements to act as a safety valve.

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Amvika Charan Majumdar³ and B. P. Sitaramayya⁴, two ex-presidents and historians of the Congress, give the same story of its origin without, of course, the marxist twist and the partisan conclusion that imperialism has planted from the beginning an inherent contradiction in the Congress. The unanimity among Dutt, Majumdar and Sitaramayya is not, however, strange if we notice that all three have drawn from the same sources, viz., (1) Sir W. Wedderburn's *A. O. Hume, Father of the Indian National Congress* (1913), and (2) W. C. Bonnerjee's *Introduction to Indian*

1. R. Palme Dutt, *India To-day* (Bombay, 1947), p. 256.

2. *Ibid.* p. 257.

3. Amvika Charan Majumdar, *Indian National Evolution*, Second edn. (Natesan, Madras) 1917, pp.45-52.

4. B.P. Sitaramayya, *History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. I, (1885-1935), pp. 14-15.

Politics (1898). By way of corroborative evidence R. P. Dutt mentions a speech of Dufferin quoted in Lyall's life, Vol. 2.

When I was going through the micro-filmed Dufferin Papers in the Commonwealth Relations Office Library, I eagerly looked for some correspondence bearing on this event. If there were any "plan secretly pre-arranged with the Viceroy" he must have opened his bosom at least to the Secretary of State and the latter must have had some comments to make on it. Kimberley's letter, dated 22 April, 1886, contains his comments on the newly-founded Congress and its demands but there is absolutely no mention of A. O. Hume nor any reference to a deep-laid conspiracy, initiated either by the Viceroy on his own or in consultation with the Secretary of State. The casual tone of the letter betrays no anxiety on the part of the Secretary of State about an impending revolutionary upsurge in India nor relief at the Viceroy's ability to avert it through the safety valve of the Indian National Congress. He is more concerned with the Burma War, the Frontier Problem, and the Silver Question than with the necessity of forging a counter-revolutionary instrument in India. It seems rather that Dufferin himself was in two minds—afraid that he had allowed the Indian politicians too long a rope and even thinking of putting a curb on their meetings and speeches. Kimberley's second letter, dated 21 May, 1886, considers this policy uncalled for. All along his attitude was—"if the Baboos like to play at politics, let them". Lord Cross was happy that communalism had raised its head at the Calcutta Session (1886) but urged Dufferin to keep a watch on its doings. He, too, belittled the Congress leaders.

In the light of these letters it is difficult to agree to the conspiracy theory. Dufferin did nothing more than direct Hume's misguided zeal into a rational channel and he always kept a wary watch on the Congress. The Secretaries of State did not give much importance to the Indian National Congress at its inception and would not recognise its representative character. They were deaf to its moderate demands and harped on the gulf between the Indian masses and the Congress leaders. This atleast throws doubt on any positive and directional role played by the British Government or the Viceroy in the formation of the Congress. What price did the British Government pay to the Congress for being obliging enough to act as a safety valve? None has answered this vital question. The correspondence, quoted below in excerpts, show that none was paid since there was no occasion. The leftists needed a conspiracy theory to suggest the existence of a revolutionary situation which was not there but which had to be created to give an air of factuality to the conspiracy which, in its turn, was necessary to prove the Congress a traitor to the Indian people. On the other hand, prepared to swallow anything about the moderate leaders of the early Congress, Majumdar and Sitaramayya have not taken pains to go into the records of the

period. They, too, have taken for granted a revolutionary situation of which the India Office was unaware.

Kimberley to Dufferin, 22 April, 1886.

"I doubt whether what is taking place here about Ireland has seriously stimulated this movement, it may have quickened it somewhat, but the causes seem to me to lie deeper, and to be traceable chiefly to social and material changes, arising from a variety of new conditions, some peculiar to India, others common to the rest of the world. First of all amongst these causes I should put the extension of railways and telegraphs, by which the different parts of India itself are brought into close daily and hourly communication with each other, and the whole of India is in immediate contact with the Western world. Next is, I think, the creation by our educational system of an "educated class". The men of this class, though few in number, are evidently quite sufficient to give utterance to the ideas, which, we may depend upon to exist, though in a nebulous state, in the minds of many more people than appears on the surface. All experience shows that it is a fatal mistake to suppose that "agitators" create grievance and discontent. What they do is to give definite form and shape to the thoughts which pervade many minds. They in other words put the match to explosive materials. If the materials do not exist, they are powerless. My expectation as regards India is that it will be some considerable time before the agitation you describe will become dangerous, but that it will every year gain strength and that we shall do well to apply our minds unremittingly to the best mode of dealing with it.

To begin with, I have no faith in a mere repressive policy. Apart from all other objections, sentimental or practical, the English democracy will never allow such a policy to be firmly and continuously pursued. This democracy in fact constitutes one of the main difficulties in maintaining an Indian Empire. We are, who are all in the end responsible to a House of Commons, swayed by the opinions of nearly the whole mass of our male adult population here, to govern near 1/6th of the human race in India, an immense congeries of people in a wholly different stage of civilization from that of the masters. We must go forward: to stand still and simply resist is not in our power, even if we were convinced it would be the safest course. The conclusion therefore at which I arrive is that some concessions to this native movement will have to be made but I would use the utmost caution in making them, not giving an inch beyond the necessity of the case, and above all carefully avoiding everything which might tend fan the flame. I have no fear, however, that you will fall into that error. Though you have always been deservedly popular, I have not seen anything in your proceedings, which indicates that popular applause affects your judgment and popularity such as yours is a source of strength".

Kimberley to Dufferin, 21 May, 1886.

(Kimberley had shown Dufferin's letter of 26 April, 1886 about the 'politics' to Lord Northbrook).

".... he (Northbrook) does not regard anything which has yet happened, as giving cause for alarm. Still we both agree entirely with you that the growing agitation is a symptom of unrest which can not safely be neglected. I doubt much whether it would be prudent to interfere in any way with meetings or speeches, unless they be distinctly treasonable. You would get no support from Parliament here for such interference, unless the agitation directly menaced British rule and in no case could I interfere unless it was a matter in which the Government could interfere sharply and decisively and was prepared to carry into effect its decisions by force, whatever the opposition might be".

Lord Cross to Dufferin, 14 January, 1887.

"The National Indian Association's (meaning the Indian National Congress's) meeting in Calcutta has probably passed over as well as you could have expected. This division of religious feeling is greatly to our advantage and I look for some good as the result of your commission of enquiry but I hope at the same time that you are pushing on your Intelligence Department".

Cross to Dufferin, 17 February, 1887.

"Your letter as to the Calcutta University, and your letter as to quasi-elected member of Legislative Councils are both connected with the most difficult of questions—the claims or asserted claims of the educated natives. Of course anything like a Representation with a population of 250 million is absurd and it is never to be forgotten that the claims are raised by the educated few.... One thing however is certain that it is English rule and English justice which have done so much in and for India as a whole, and for the native population. If I wanted proof of the fact (which I do not) that there is no desire for the ascendancy of one race, Hindu for instance, I should find it in the anonymous circular which you forward to me as forwarded for circulation among Mohamedans."

Cross to Dufferin, 25 February, 1887.

"You have brought up a favourable view of the Indian Congress at Calcutta. This noisy few will no doubt always pass resolutions of the most advanced and at the same time of the most impractical character but the masses of the people do not want to be ruled by Baboos and it is our duty as well as an interest and still more the interest of the

people that there is to be English rule and English justice, and English consideration for the wants, the prejudices and the habits religious as well as social of all classes. How can we meet such aspirations as are legitimate consistently with the above policy?"

Cross to Dufferin, 14 April 1887.

"I am not in the least alarmed at your suggestion as to applying the elective principle to some of your Indian Councils. I shall be very glad to consider any really matured plan because I am quite alive to the present situation of affairs in India but in any step that may be taken the interests of the Mohamedans must be considered quite as much as the interests of the noisy Bengalee Baboo.... I was quite sure that you would agree with me that what really secures the welfare of the Indian people is English justice and English administrative efficiency and that the ascendancy of both these elements must under any circumstances be maintained absolute and pre-eminent but presuming that sufficient care is taken that our majority is secure so as to enable us to legislate for the millions who are not noisy and who are uneducated against the more selfish views of the noisy and educated or half-educated, my mind is quite open and large enough carefully and favourably to consider any well-matured plan of reform".





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